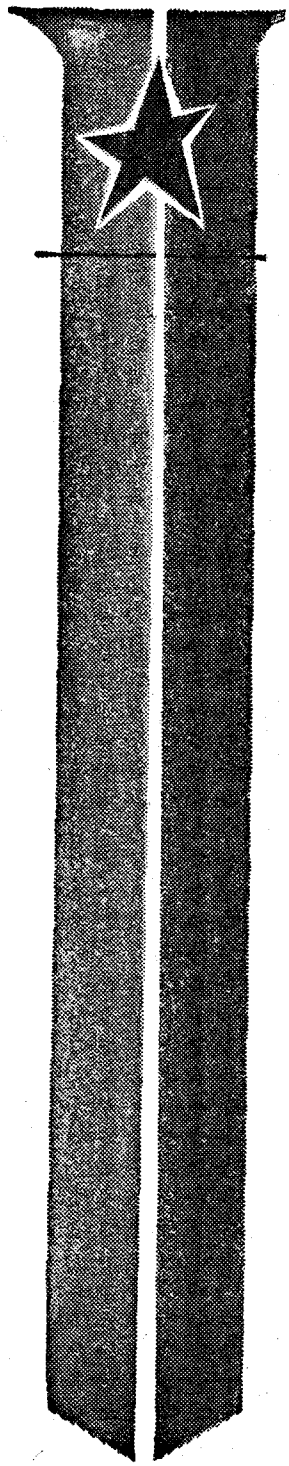
THE NATION

May 4, 1964 . . 35c



Rebel Raid

WALLACE in INDIANA

Gordon Englehart

Nonrecognition

DIPLOMATIC TRAP

Richard A. Falk

RUSSIA: The Pangs of Affluence

Alexander Werth

UPTOWN AND DOWNTOWN

Literary Bandwagon by Ivan Gold

Embattled Artists by Diane di Prima

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Inflation ogre

New Rochelle, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: "Trade and Jobs" by Sir John Lomax (*The Nation*, April 13) was a very succinct, profound analysis of the economic dilemma facing America. Of course, there is an additional way of utilizing our nation's huge plant capacity and army of unemployed (besides foreign aid and trade with Communist nations for long-term credit and/or Moscow gold) and that is the planning and execution of a vast government program in the public domain. . . .

Big business is aware of these solutions, but doesn't embrace them because, in my opinion, business is basically opposed to full employment as providing the pressures for labor to secure higher wages, etc. Since business cannot openly state that it is against eliminating unemployment, it demogogically attacks any government-spending programs for relieving unemployment as "unbalancing the budget" and "inflationary"—both of which terms are true to some extent, but a very small price to pay for the overall gain. . . .

However, sooner than much later, business will have to unsell its own propaganda against government spending in the public sphere if we are to avoid a depression à la the 1930s. Otherwise, Khrushchev will have won the economic war—the only kind of war we can wage in this atomic age. . . .

Jack Paley

Bay of Pigs

New York City

Dear Sirs: There are two "unanswered questions" concerning the invasion of Cuba which Jean Edward Smith ("Bay of Pigs: The Unanswered Questions," *The Nation*, Apr. 13) has chosen to ignore.

Operational factors aside, is the "prestige" of this nation in the eyes of world opinion the only valid "moral" criterion for deciding whether or not to launch a war against another country? Despite a sentence in the first paragraph which observes that the invasion attempt "constituted a serious breach of national and international law," this acceptance of the "justness" of aggressive wars is reflected in the tenor of the entire article. . . .

If, indeed, we have been transformed into a "warfare state," there remains another assumption by Mr. Smith which deserves to be questioned. Criticizing the administration's failure to release the Taylor report, he observes that "A more fundamental problem has to do with the right of the people in a democracy to know the truth." Do the people—in a "democracy"—also have the right to be consulted by their governors on broad issues before the event, particularly on those relating to the initiation of aggressive wars? If this is "unpragmatic" in the thermonuclear age, let our instructors of government honestly characterize our system as "aristocratic," "oligarchic" or some admixture.

Miles D. Wolpin

Fleetwood, Pa.

Dear Sirs: Much of Jean Edward Smith's article deals with the lack of air cover to support the landing in the Cuban invasion.

Was air cover really needed?

After landing at the Bay of Pigs and battling with Cuban militia for a few days, the invasion army surrendered after having suffered amazingly few casualties. There is only one possible explanation for so few casualties. Castro was unable at that time to bring heavy firepower to bear on the invaders either from land or air.

Although it is true that the invasion lacked air cover, no one has offered evidence to show that it would have altered the outcome.

You have to be crazy (or believe your own propaganda) to invade a country of 7 million with 1,500.

Fred Schwartz

Student of the area

East Lansing, Mich.

Dear Sirs: What a pleasure it was to read James Weinstein's review of Gabriel Kolko's *The Triumph of Conservatism* (*The Nation*, Apr. 20). In our day when liberalism and conservatism are usually cast as polar opposites, it is refreshing to know that a factual treatment of this subject, valuable as it is, can benefit from the insights of a student of the area. . . .

Daniel Walden
Michigan State University

Anniversary

New York City

Dear Sirs: As a culmination of its drive to send Monthly Review Press books to Negro colleges in the South, the independent Socialist magazine is celebrating its fifteenth anniversary at the Park Sheraton Hotel on Wednesday, May 13, at 8:30 P.M. It will be a party to meet writers who have contributed to the *Monthly Review*. Barrows Dunham, author of the recent *Heroes and Heretics*, will be master of ceremonies. The editors and Scott Nearing will speak. There will be entertainment by E. Y. Harburg and others. Admission is $2.50, including refreshments. It is hoped that the many loyal supporters of the magazine will come, and also all those interested in enriching the libraries of Negro colleges.

Louise R. Berman, Chairman
MR 15th Anniversary Committee

THE NATION

Monday, May 4, 1964
Volume 198, No. 19

In this issue

EDITORIALS
449

ARTICLES
451 Wallace in Indiana
Gordon Englehart
453 Russia: The Pangs of Affluence
Alexander Werth
457 Nonrecognition: The Diplomatic Trap
Richard A. Falk
460 The Dodge City Syndrome
Stanley Meisler

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
462 The Big Puff
Ivan Gold
463 Fuzz's Progress
Diane di Prima
465 Theatre
Harold Clurman
466 Music
Benjamin Boretz
468 The Thief (poem)
Wendell Berry

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 468)
Frank W. Lewis

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Robert Hatch, Managing Editor
Elizabeth Sutherland, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Copy Editor
Grandin Conover, Assistant Editor
Harold Clurman, Theatre
Max Kozloff, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Carl Dreher, Science
Denise Levertov, Poetry
Alexander Werth, Europe
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, May 4, 1961. Vol. 198, No. 19

The Nation is published weekly (except in July and August, when biweekly) by The Nation Company and copyright 1964 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10014. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price: One year, $10; two years, $18. Foreign and Canadian postage: $1 extra per year.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest and the Public Affairs Information Service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wallace's Power Play

Governor George Wallace's cleverly plotted power play deserves more attention than it has received to date. Alabama's Democratic delegation is pledged to the Governor and will remain pledged to him until he releases it, thus insuring him a considerable mischief-making potential at Atlantic City. Also, electors will be chosen at the same time. These electors will appear on the ballot, not as rival "slates" pledged to Governor Wallace or President Johnson, but merely as individual names. In effect, there will be two slates—one "loyal" (with the solid backing of Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman), the other a "rebel" or Wallace group—but electors will not appear as slates, nor will any of them be pledged to any nominee. Conceivably, therefore, Alabama could elect some electors who would support President Johnson and some who would not. In effect this gives Wallace a second line of defense and enhances his mischief-making potential.

Now turn to Indiana (see article p. 451). There, as in Wisconsin, Governor Wallace is the amiable, soft-spoken, courteous, serious, folksy, "underdog" contender. He is not in Indiana to tell the Hoosiers how to handle race relations; he is there, he says, to debate the civil rights bill. But the civil rights bill is being debated where it should be debated, in the U.S. Senate. What should be debated in Indiana is whether Democratic voters in that state want to surrender control of the state's delegation to the Alabama demagogue who will use it for his own ends. Beyond Indiana is the Maryland primary (May 19). What Wallace hopes to do is roll up a million votes outside the South which will, he calculates, augment the power that derives from control of the Alabama delegation. He has plenty of money. The Alabama Sovereignty Commission has set up the Committee for Fundamental Freedoms which is collecting for him. He is also getting help from the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, and Birchite support is available.

In Indiana as in Wisconsin, Wallace is the beneficiary of saturation television coverage. He is "the man in motion," the challenger, the interloper, the newsmaker. Without any conscious bias, the television cameras automatically focus on him and he projects very well. As a result he gets top billing—at no expense to himself. For example, the Huntley-Brinkley report of April 15 devoted a long sequence to Wallace in Indiana: arriving at the airport, the plane-side press conference, entering the Claypool Hotel, conferring with friends and well-wishers, entering Butler University, addressing the students. If television is to concentrate on Wallace as the man in motion, it should provide some background on the *other* Wallace. Someone — the networks or the opposition — should let Hoosier Democrats see shots of Wallace defying federal authority at the University of Alabama, Wallace delivering his inaugural address, the cattle prods, the bombed churches, the disgusting Birmingham street scenes.

The late Joe McCarthy was a political incompetent; most of the money that flowed to him he spent on horses and soy bean margins; he would have had difficulty organizing a teen-age raid on a peanut stand. Wallace, by contrast, is a shrewd, unscrupulous demagogue who knows how to acquire power through accretion, and how to apply it. He is skillfully exploiting latent social discontents and deep currents of prejudice. He will not make the McCarthy mistakes.

The Unthinkable Detente

The change in mood and tone between the United States and the Soviet Union is as unmistakable as it is inchoate. One may disagree as to when it began — perhaps on December 16, 1963, when Dean Rusk told the foreign ministers of NATO, convened in Paris, that it was in "our interest" that the Russians should prevail in their quarrel with China. Subsequently Rusk retreated somewhat, but a ray of reason had pierced the miasma of suspicion and hostility.

Nor is the label important: a *détente* can take many forms. It is easier to see what this *détente* is not. It is not disarmament, it does not reduce the capacity of either side to wage war, even to the point of destroying mankind. It is not an agreement (except by indirection); it is certainly not an alliance, since the United States and the Soviet Union stand pat on their respective ideologies and will move only slowly, if at all, toward common economic and political ground.

The great importance of the change is its possible effect on the United Nations. Whenever the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed, the UN has functioned effectively; whenever the two have disagreed, the UN's tribulations have multiplied. No one sees the prospect of better times more clearly than U Thant; no one can welcome it more. Appraising Senator Fulbright's well-timed appeal for a rethinking of international relations, U Thant stressed the urgent need for all countries to replace suspicion with trust, hysteria with calm, rigidity with flexibility, and for the first time these do not resound as mere words.

The *modus operandi* of the *détente*, especially in the cutback of plutonium and uranium production simultaneously announced in Washington and Moscow, must be credited to an American who, like most inventors, will get precious little credit for his inspiration. Prof. Charles E. Osgood has been proposing for years that the antagonists in the cold war should slow down, and eventually reverse, the arms race by taking unilateral steps in the direction of disarmament. These steps, he emphasized, must be small at first; fear and suspicion cannot be dispelled over-

APR 30 '64

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

night. The plutonium-uranium step is a perfect example, except that the steps were synchronized. Khrushchev calls this "the policy of mutual example." He probably never heard of Osgood, perhaps Mr. Johnson hasn't either. But it shows that a good idea can still influence the world.

Always Cuba

That a *détente* may bring on new problems is shown by the events in Cuba. Since the showdown of October, 1962, when Khrushchev was forced to withdraw his IRBMs from Cuba, the presence of Russian troops on the island has been an affront to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and to the American military ego. These troops have gradually been taken home, and Cubans have been trained to man the anti-aircraft batteries. The United States has been conducting regular overflights, ostensibly to check whether any IRBMs have been re-imported, but actually, since the island is under a *de facto* blockade, as a show of strength.

Castro, however, has been talking of shooting down our U-2s, and if he suits the action to the word, we might bomb the AA batteries. That could be the end of the *détente*. Castro is volatile, Khrushchev is usually stable, and his Cuban divisions were a restraining influence. We may come to wish they were back.

In American politics, the ins are vulnerable to accusations of softness as long as communism has a foothold in the hemisphere. It is a problem for President Johnson as it was one for President Kennedy. There is, however, some slight difference in clarity. President Kennedy defined U.S. policy toward Cuba as one of "unremitting hostility." *The Nation* pointed out that this was an attitude, not a policy. President Johnson says that our task is to "isolate Cuba from the inter-American system, frustrate its efforts to destroy free governments, and expose for all to see the ugliness of communism." The first we have done, but we have not managed to isolate Cuba from the world outside the Americas. As to the second, a truly liberal U.S. policy toward the countries of Latin America would be absolute prophylaxis against revolution, whether instigated by Castro or anyone else. When it comes to exposure, we have exposed and overexposed everything that is bad in Cuba, but that is propaganda, not dissemination of truth. It is impossible for a social revolution to be wholly evil; it is questionable whether it can even be predominantly evil and survive. Moreover, in a democracy the truth is likely to emerge in time. Harry Rasky's North American Newspaper Alliance story on Castro is a current example.

It would make sense for us to resume diplomatic relations with Cuba, but that is a political impossibility until after the election, and will be an improbability then. In the meantime, the best that can be expected is that Cuba will not disrupt the *détente*. It probably will not. Mr. Johnson emphasized that we will continue our hostile policy "with every peaceful means at our command." Castro might well do the same. The overflights are an indignity, but otherwise of no consequence.

The Victims

The American public is informed almost daily of American casualties in the Vietnamese war; almost without exception, these are military men killed or wounded in combat. The press also carries estimates of casualties among Vietnamese Government troops and the Vietcong guerrillas. But the American public is given no figures on *civilian* casualties, which in many engagements exceed the military casualties. Civilians, it seems, don't count, at least not when they are being slaughtered ten thousand miles away.

Americans like Richard Nixon, who take a ride around Saigon and then come home to advocate extending the war, should read a story from Saigon in the April 16 Los Angeles *Times*: "Maimed, Scarred Child Victims of Vietnam War Horrify Doctor." The doctor is Lewis Ellmore, well known as a surgeon and professor of surgery in Southern California and now one of three American surgeons on the staff of the University of Saigon Medical School. Dr. Ellmore supplies some grisly figures. There are at most 800 trained physicians in South Vietnam and 600 of these are in the army. They take care of the quarter million or so government troops; presumably the remaining 200 physicians are expected to serve the 15 million civilians. This would be a large order even under peacetime conditions, but now the civilians are afflicted not only with their usual diseases, ranging from the plague to malaria, but the few civilian hospitals are further overburdened with war casualties. Of 13,000 surgical cases admitted last year to Cho Ray — South Vietnam's largest hospital — 60 per cent were for treatment of war wounds. These are inflicted in the normal course of combat by both the Vietcong and the U.S.-South Vietnamese allies, but the latter, having at their disposal aircraft, napalm, white phosphorus, trinitrotoluene and almost everything except atomic bombs, probably excel in murdering and maiming civilians.

The conditions described by Dr. Ellmore are agonizing. Patients who are able to get into hospitals sleep two or three to a bed. There is not one trained plastic surgeon in the country. If a civilian loses part of his face in a grenade explosion, or has his skin burned off, he stays that way. The two medical schools turn out 100 doctors a year; at that rate it will take fifty years to produce the needed number of doctors.

The American Red Cross has sent $6,000 worth of office equipment, eighteen sewing machines, 100,000 bars of soap, 70,000 yards of textiles, 200,000 yards of mosquito netting, two mobile dispensaries and some miscellaneous items. The South Vietnam Red Cross was formed only in 1952, primarily to provide assistance for the half million refugees from the North. It depends entirely on volunteers and has not a single paid staff member. It would seem that in simple humanity an international commission under Red Cross sponsorship should visit South Vietnam and organize a rescue operation, especially for wounded children. The United States, which daily pours $1.5 million into South Vietnam to help prosecute the war, could well afford some aid to the civilian victims of that crusade.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Strangelove Country

Montana has the proud distinction of being host to the first operational Minuteman ICBM complex. One hundred and fifty of the automated missiles in their hardened underground silos are located in the central part of the state. Great Falls, in particular, is ringed by launch sites. The maximum range of the existing Minuteman model is 6,300 miles, the distance to the Kremlin is some 4,430 miles. According to an Air Force spokesman, "follow-on wings of Minuteman will have a greater range and target capacity, as well as some other benefits."

While the facilities were being constructed, Great Falls enjoyed its own benefits — a missile boom. Four thousand construction workers and their families moved into the area, which has a normal population of 60,000. A gratifying economic expansion occurred, followed by an ungratifying contraction as the workers departed. But now there is hope of another boom, albeit on a more modest scale. Fifty missiles may be added to those already *in situ*, so that Great Falls alone will be practically a match for the Soviet Union.

Even if some other state, such as jealous North Dakota, gets the next fifty, things won't be so bad. Senator Metcalf points out that the existing installation "means millions a year to the economy of Montana." According to a U.S. Air Force report compiled at the request of Mr. Metcalf, maintenance personnel alone involves 700 military and twenty-three civilians. They will work an average of 104,000 man-hours per month, operating 257 motor vehicles which in the same period will travel 560,000 miles and consume 57,000 gallons of gasoline. Almost $14 million will be spent annually for Minuteman maintenance and operation, in addition to about $24.5 million for Great Falls's Malmstrom Air Force Base.

Alas, there are always cavilers and complainers. Oblivious to all these blessings, the American Friends Service Committee convened a "Great Falls Institute of International Relations" early in April. The moderator was Norman Whitney, consultant in peace education for AFSC, and speakers included Dr. Brock Chisholm, former director-general of the UN World Health Organization, Dr. Gordon S. Christiansen, chairman of the Department of Chemistry at Connecticut College for Women, Dr. Joe E. Wilkinson of the Social Science Foundation at Denver University, and of course the well-known atomic race dissident, Dr. E. W. Pfeiffer, professor of zoology at Montana State University. Moreover, the Missoula Public Affairs Council, in which Dr. Pfeiffer is also active, has written a letter to Air Force Secretary Eugene M. Zuckert, opposing further location of missile sites in Montana and suggesting that all this proliferation of ICBMs could only be construed as a build-up for a first-strike capability. So long as we have enough missiles to threaten the major Soviet cities, why do we need thousands more, Dr. Pfeiffer wants to know. But then he is only a zoologist, concerned with life.

Wallace in Indiana . . . . . Gordon Englehart

Indianapolis

Not since rebel raider John Hunt Morgan jumped the Ohio River near Corydon 101 years ago and galloped toward Cincinnati has an Alabamian cut such a swath across Indiana. This spring's invader, Governor George C. Wallace, is — like his gray-clad forebear — spurring a States'-rights horse into combat against an enemy he identifies as the federal government. He is one of five candidates in the Indiana Democratic Presidential preferential primary May 5.

Wallace isn't, of course, a serious Presidential candidate. His announced broad goal is to "conservatize" both parties into curbing or trimming back "the omnipotent rush and grasp for power in Washington." His immediate target is what he calls the civil-wrongs bill now pending in the U.S. Senate. "You have a good opportunity to kill this bill by voting for me," he tells Hoosiers.

Wallace is not expected to defeat Indiana Governor Matthew E. Welsh, a favorite-son candidate running in the primaries to hold the Indiana delegation for President Johnson. But Welsh, other Democratic Party officials, and Indiana church leaders are worried that Wallace will poll an impressive number of votes. "He's known, he will be well financed and he is riding the crest of an emotional issue," Welsh said before Wallace arrived.

Welsh recalled that another such issue — anti-Catholicism — was potent enough in Indiana in the 1960 primary to hand political-unknowns Lar Daly and John H. Latham 82,000 votes, compared to 351,000 for John F. Kennedy. Daly, the America-Firster from Chicago, and Latham, a retired pipe fitter from Rockville, Ind., are candidates again this year. The fifth hopeful is one Faye (Fifi) Carpenter-Swain, a Cincinnati blonde who wears a wrist watch around her ankle.

Wallace beamed confidence as he arrived in Indianapolis, April 14, fresh from the Wisconsin primary where he had bagged a surprising third of the votes. "Governor Reynolds said it would be a catastrophe if I got 100,000 votes," he chortled. "Well, I got 264,000, so there must have been three catastrophes in Wisconsin." Wallace cannily refused to speculate on his Indiana vote. "If we get any votes at all, we have won," he said. "If I get any significant vote, it will not only shake the eye teeth of the liberals in both parties, it will make them drop out."

Wallace arrived in style — in an Alabama state plane decorated with a Confederate flag and the slogan, "Stand up for America." He was accompanied by three husky, cool-eyed Alabama state highway pa-

Gordon Englehart is Indianapolis Bureau chief, the Louisville Courier-Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trolmen, and by his executive secretary, Earl Morgan. Press, radio and television newsmen gave the arrival full treatment. Next morning, about twenty-five members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Indianapolis Social Action Council obligingly drew more attention to the visitor by picketing outside the Claypool Hotel. The 45-year-old Governor showed up for a packed press conference in a dark blue suit and white shirt with tab collar and French cuffs. On his left hand a heavy Masonic ring nestled up to a gold wedding band.

Wallace is short — 5 feet 7 — but still about as trim as when he was the 1936 Golden Gloves bantamweight champion of Alabama. Dark brown hair is slicked back neatly above a heavy-browed, slightly bulldoggish face. At the press conference and in later Indiana appearances, Wallace played the perfect Southern gentleman. There was no red-neck ranting. He spoke rapidly, fluently, persuasively, quietly, with a pleasing accent. He displayed a quick wit, and proved imperturbable under the most hostile questioning.

A churchman later said he now believes reports of "the man's dexterity in confusing and embarrassing even the most adroit debaters." A Republican leader says no Hoosier politician of either party can touch him as a public speaker. "The word for him is slick," the Indianapolis *Times* commented editorially. As he did with Wisconsin's Governor, Wallace carefully praised Welsh as a high-type man for whom he has the greatest regard — and then challenged him to a television and radio debate. "I am not interested," was Welsh's first reaction. Later, however, when Wallace moved out to Butler University, the normally even-tempered Welsh cut loose with the most vitriolic statement of his political career:

This is the man who was the mortal enemy of President John F. Kennedy.

This is the man who tolerated the presence of billboards in his state, before the assassination, which demanded "K.O. the Kennedys."

This is the man whose beliefs were responsible for the deaths of innocent children in the bombing of a Sunday-School class in a Montgomery church [Welsh meant Birmingham].

This is the man who stood by while dogs were set upon human beings and fire hoses were turned on groups of peaceful demonstrators.

This is the man who is trying to destroy the political system of the United States as we know it and who seeks to discredit President Lyndon B. Johnson.

This is the man who flies the Confederate flag over the Statehouse in Alabama in place of the Stars and Stripes.

"I made the statement because I wanted Democrats generally to know that this is not going to be a polite tea party," Welsh said later. Wallace mildly replied, "He has a right to his own opinions."

According to Welsh, civil rights

Governor George C. Wallace

is no issue in Indiana because the state already has a law stronger in most respects than the federal bill. The only issue is human decency. "And we in Indiana have written our record in . . . quiet progress."

The 1960 census lists about 274,000 Negroes in Indiana — nearly 6 per cent of the population. The two big clusters are in Indianapolis (20 per cent of its population) and Gary (38 per cent). In 1949, the legislature passed a law ending segregation in schools. The 1961 legislature approved a fair-employment-practices law. The 1963 legislature added public-accommodations and education to its coverage and gave a state Civil Rights Commission enforcement powers. Only housing is not now covered.

Welsh, a lame-duck governor in his final year of office, is a 51-year-old attorney, from a prominent Vincennes family. He is a former State Representative, State Senator and U.S. District Attorney. He is an honest, hard-working and able administrator — gracious in manner, and a button-down-collar patrician in appearance. But he is a dull speaker, and even he admits that he has collected a lot of "barnacles" in three years in the governor's chair. His strong civil rights push has been unpopular in some parts of the state. And he has caught much of the blame for higher taxes, including a brand new sales tax passed by the 1963 legislature.

The nature of Indiana is another factor working for Wallace. It was settled mainly by Carolinians and still draws from Kentucky and Tennessee. Copperheads were very active here during the Civil War, and for several years during the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan practically ran the state. Some of this anti-Negro, anti-foreigner, anti-Catholic sentiment is still evident. Indiana is a conservative state, despite the election in the past six years of liberal Democrats Welsh and Senators Vance Hartke and Birch Bayh.

This is the ground Wallace is plowing: Hoosiers who believe Negroes are pushing too hard, conservatives who are leery of big government in Washington and who agree with the States'-rights pitch, and voters dissatisfied with Welsh. Some Republicans are expected to vote in the Democratic primary, but not as many as in Wisconsin. A Republican can ask for a Democratic ballot, but if challenged he must sign an affidavit that he voted for a majority of Democrats in the last general election and intends to do the same in the upcoming one.

Wallace's basic speech, with heavy emphasis on local government, States' rights and individual freedom, plus side attacks on federal aid, foreign aid and the U.S. Supreme Court, goes like this:

The federal civil rights bill is 10 per cent civil rights and 90 per cent a grasp for federal Executive power. It will destroy the free-enterprise system and private ownership of property; it "will destroy the whole cement that holds the U.S. Constitution together."

If the bill passes, your right to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sell or rent your home to whom you please will be destroyed; every neighborhood school will be destroyed through mandatory transfers of students; you may lose your job, your seniority, or promotion to make way for a Negro; farmers will lose federal crops supports if they discriminate in hiring workers; the government will control membership in private organizations, and offenders can be jailed without jury trials.

Segregation, says Wallace, is in the best interest of both races in Alabama, but he is not advocating segregation for Indiana or any other state. "This is for each state to decide," he stresses. "If you want integration, have it, but vote it yourselves, decide at the level of Indiana. But if you can't run your schools without the aid of some social engineers up in Washington, you might just as well abolish your Statehouse."

Wallace denies he is a racist. "Not even the left-wing press can show that I have ever made any statement reflecting on anyone because of his race, creed or national origin." Negroes, he says, have excellent schools in Alabama. He himself served two years on the board of trustees of Tuskegee Institute, and his administration appropriates $700,000 a year to that private school for Negroes.

Some eighty students picketed Wallace at Butler. But he got a warm reception inside and beat Welsh, 70 to 55, in a straw vote.

After Indianapolis, Wallace fanned out across the state, to Richmond, Terre Haute, Vincennes, Bloomington—and to more pickets. He is advertising heavily in twenty to twenty-five papers in major cities, and has taken time spots ranging from 5 to 30 minutes, on forty radio and ten television stations.

The Indianapolis *Times* quoted "a reliable source" as saying the tab for all this would come to $50,000, but the Wallace camp says that figure is way too high. Contributions mostly $1 to $5, are coming in steadily, Wallace reports.

The Democratic State Committee, in its counterattack, is relying heavily on the slogan: "Clear the way for L.B.J., vote for Welsh the 5th of May." The committee has reserved a "decent" amount of radio and TV time and newspaper-ad space. All county chairmen and vice chairmen have been given campaign buttons, cards and literature, and have been briefed at a statewide meeting on how to refute what party and church leaders claim are Wallace's blatant misrepresentations of the civil rights bill. All Democratic patronage workers in state, county and local governments have been "urged" to vote May 5 and bring others to the polls.

Welsh returned to the attack at Gary when he compared Alabama to a police state ruled "by the iron fist of would-be dictators." He continued: "On the one hand we're told the Negro schools down there are excellent and in the same breath we are told that thousands upon thousands of Negro graduates of those same schools are illiterate and cannot be allowed to vote." Welsh told a reporter he listened to Wallace's first televised speech and concluded that his appeal is not to Democrats—it was pure John Birch.

The Indiana Council of Churches sent material attacking the Wallace position to 300 church leaders in sixteen denominations in Indiana, asking them to enlist local pastors in the fight. Among other things, the material emphasizes that, Wallace to the contrary, federal-government employment in nonmilitary occupations between 1947 and 1963 remained constant — 1.9 per cent of the total population—while state- and local-government employment doubled.

Welsh does not go along with some observers' belief that Wallace will get his heaviest support along the Ohio River, where there is the heaviest concentration of Southerners. He thinks Wallace may do best in such cities as Indianapolis, Gary, South Bend, Fort Wayne, Muncie and Anderson, where Polish and other ethnic minorities live next to Negroes and are in direct competition for jobs. The big question, however, is "the mass of independent voters who normally do not turn out for primaries," he says. "How many will find Wallace's line appealing?"

The nationally known contenders in both Presidential primaries here dispute Wallace's thesis that a big vote for him might kill the civil rights bill. Welsh says only that the election is sure to have some effect on the legislation. Republican Harold Stassen says it would have no effect — that the Democratic vote will simply reflect voters' appraisal of Welsh's performance as Governor.

Republican Barry Goldwater said a big Wallace vote wouldn't kill the bill, "but it might take out two of the most objectionable features — the public-accommodations section and FEPC, and it might delay passage until after the November election."

Russia: The Pangs of Affluence .. Alexander Werth

Paris

It is the easiest thing in the world to be funny about certain passages in Michael Suslov's six-hour harangue against the Chinese, which was released in Moscow on April 2, while Mr. Khrushchev was on a state visit to Hungary. Said the Secretary of the Central Committee:

The Chinese press now maintains that what we see in Yugoslavia today is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which has, moreover, assumed the form of the most barbarous Fascist dictatorship. Better still, the Chinese maintain that Yugoslavia "is a special counterrevolutionary shock unit of American imperialism."

Now look at this quote:

As a result of the Fascist terror of the Tito gang against the healthy forces of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the leadership of the party is now wholly in the hands of spies and assassins, hirelings of imperialism.

This is not a quote from the Chinese press, but from the resolution drawn up by Mr. Suslov himself, as Soviet representative at the Cominform meeting in Hungary in November, 1949.

Putting the quotes side by side suggests two things: first, that what Mr. Suslov said in 1949 with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a great show of indignation was what Stalin had ordered him to say about Yugoslavia; and that what he says today, with a like show of indignation, is what Mr. Khrushchev had ordered him to say about China. Secondly, it suggests that quarrels inside the Socialist camp are not necessarily final. Six years after the Cominform Resolution, Khrushchev went to Belgrade to apologize to Tito for all the wild accusations made against Yugoslavia "through Beria's fault"; in another six years — or six months? — Khrushchev, or somebody else, may go to Peking to patch up the quarrel with the Chinese. At the moment this does not seem at all likely, but there is a striking similarity between the two quarrels.

It should be remembered that in 1948-49, when Stalin worked up such indignation over Yugoslavia, Tito represented a very serious threat to the "monolithic unity" of the whole "Socialist bloc" in Eastern Europe. Today that bloc has fallen to pieces in Asia. In 1948, there started a witch hunt against alleged Tito sympathizers in all the East European countries, complete with executions and phony trials, like the Kostov trial in Bulgaria and the Rajk trial in Hungary. After Stalin's death, Khrushchev accepted Yugoslavia's "neutral" position in Europe, and thought it possible to write the country off as a member of the Soviet bloc without undue damage to the USSR's strategic interests.

In reality, "Titoism" has remained for the Soviets a disturbing factor in Eastern Europe. For if, in a military sense, Eastern Europe continues to be "monolithically united" under the Warsaw Pact, each of the East European countries is ideologically going more or less its own way. If Poland remains firmly inside the Soviet orbit, it is much less for ideological reasons than for national reasons — the Soviet-sponsored Oder-Neisse frontier and protection against Germany being the most important among them. There are mighty few Poles who trouble to pay even lip service to Marxism-Leninism, and the same applies to the Hungarians, Rumanians and even the conformist Czechs.

The Russians have lately had some doubts about even the ruling castes in these countries. The Rumanians, of all people, have been squinting toward Peking — if only, one suspects, to demonstrate to their own citizens their reluctance to be wholly subservient to Moscow. At the same time, Khrushchev has been desperately eager to obtain approval for his anti-Chinese policy from the East European countries, and also from the major Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and East Germans have hastened to endorse the Khrushchev-Suslov theses, and so has the French Communist Party under Thorez (the Chinese have singled Thorez out for special abuse as a Khrushchev stooge, though he was slower and more reluctant than most to abandon his former all-out Stalinism). The Rumanian and Italian Communist Parties are more reserved, and the Italians, in particular, appear in no hurry to subscribe to a world meeting of all Communist Parties at which China, whether present or absent, would be "condemned."

In the last years of Stalin, the Soviet Communist Party looked upon Eastern Europe, except possibly as a military alliance, as the least reliable part of the "Socialist bloc" — a part that could be kept in order only by police terror. In Stalin's view, the most wholehearted allies of Communist Russia were the Asian countries, and in the first place, China. It was not the somewhat artificial East-European appendix that Russia acquired as a result of World War II, *but the 600 million Chinese* (plus Vietnam and Korea) that made the "Socialist bloc" so enormously impressive. If that is so, the split with China is far more serious than the break with Tito.

Now, however, we find Khrushchev pleading, a little comically, with his "real friends," the Hungarians, for "peaceful competition and peaceful coexistence" and against the big bad wolf of Peking who, he alleges, is willing in the name of "revolution" to risk a thermonuclear cataclysm.

The world has changed fantastically in the last fifteen years, and it is amusing to read Harry Schwartz in *The New York Times*: "In the past, what was good for Russia was good for the World Revolution. . . . [But things have changed, since] none of Stalin's successors had his prestige and international authority." Just like that! One cannot suspect Harry Schwartz of greatly admiring Stalin, but in saying this, he certainly puts his finger on a very sore spot. The point was recently defined for me by a prominent Russian in this strange observation: "We are much happier under Khrushchev than we were under Stalin, but let's face it: in the last few years the Soviet Union has, in international terms, lost all its past political sex appeal."

The Chinese are certainly aware of this: hence their wonderful description of Khrushchev as a "renegade Kautsky." Karl Kautsky is the arch social-democratic "revisionist" in the Communist demonology, and to any educated Russian Marxist-Leninist the epithet is insultingly shattering. In fact, there is every reason to believe that this phrase was what finally decided Khrushchev to release Suslov's February indictment of the Chinese leadership. To say that Khrushchev is a "renegade Kautsky" is to say that Lenin, who coined the term and under whose banner Khrushchev governs, is nothing more in Russia today than window dressing.

There can be no question of summarizing here even briefly the 30,000 words of Suslov's indictment of the Chinese leaders; but I should like to dwell on several highly interesting points. He started, significantly, by defining the Soviet Union's role in the international revolutionary movement:

> *The greater our economic achievement, the better the life of the Soviet people, the higher will be the authority of the first Socialist state in the world, and the greater will be the power of attraction of the ideas of socialism and communism.*

In other words, Russian economic prosperity is the foundation stone of "world communism."

Suslov then correctly remarked that "the revolutionary process had embraced all the continents," but he added that "the working-class [i.e., Communist] movement in the capitalist countries is growing in strength all the time." This is totally untrue, as we may see not only from the virtually nonexistent Communist Parties of Britain and the United States, but even from the more-dead-than-alive Communist Party of France, despite its nominally still fairly large following. The Chinese know this, and Suslov

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

obviously felt the situation keenly, for he reproached the Chinese for saying that:

the national liberation movements are more important than the labor movement in the capitalist countries. In saying so, the Chinese go wholly against the Marxist teaching of the historic role of the working class. They deliberately minimize the labor movement in the developed capitalist countries.

And then came the direct charges against the Chinese: they were guilty of sectarianism and putschism, of scissionist activities, great-power chauvinism, petty bourgeois nationalism and nationalist arrogance. Worse still:

Hostility to the USSR and the CPSU is practically the chief activity of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. . . . We are supposed to have ganged up with American imperialism and with the "Tito renegades". . . . They say our anti-Stalinism is a mistake.

And then Suslov uttered this ominous sentence: *"It is no longer a quarrel between parties, but between states."*

The Chinese, he said, wanted first to split the Communist movement, and then to inflict on the world the Chinese version of socialism. They were trying to set up pro-Chinese factions everywhere and, in doing so, made use of renegades, Trotskyists and anarchists. Above all, they refused to sign the test-ban treaty and they were against the "Leninist principle" of peaceful competition.

Suslov then said that, in the Chinese view, the struggle for peace and the world revolutionary struggle were incompatible. If one looks at this point closely, one sees that here the Russians are in a jam. For them (as Khrushchev's Budapest speeches clearly show) the most important thing in the world is to avoid a nuclear war. At the same time, they have to pretend to be still vitally interested in the world revolution or, at any rate, in "national liberation" movements within the underdeveloped countries. More in sorrow than in anger, Suslov recalled that the Soviet Union had lent the underdeveloped countries about $3 billion (not a stupendous figure), that it had built in those countries 500 different enterprises. He came next to the aid that the Soviet Union had granted China—and for which it had received small thanks.

Maclean's

And the Chinese were preaching a uniform doctrine of violent revolution for all underdeveloped countries. It was complete nonsense, Suslov said, to preach violent revolution in countries like, say, Algeria, Indonesia, Ceylon or Ghana. In Budapest, Khrushchev was even more cautious. He declared that "national liberation" movements could be helped only "in certain conditions" (i.e., without endangering world peace) and that, in any case, the one thing that would speed world communism was the very existence of the Socialist camp. What Khrushchev endorses by this sort of talk is the "inevitability of gradualness," and that is precisely what the Chinese have found so convenient in their eagerness to pin "Kautskyite" and "social democratic" labels to Soviet foreign policy!

The bitterest Russian charge against the Chinese is that they would "welcome" an atomic war. Khrushchev thundered in Budapest about "only small children and absolute half-wits" being unafraid of such a war. Suslov quoted some dozen utterances by Mao and other less important Chinese leaders to the effect that even if one-third of humanity perished, the bomb would set the stage for world communism and would, on balance, be not a bad thing.

It may be doubted that the Russians really believe the Chinese want an atomic cataclysm; the allegation that they do is simply the heaviest stick to beat them with. And although the Chinese are "hostile to peaceful competition," they have latterly, in Suslov's phrase, turned a complete somersault — the evidence being Chou En-lai's peace-loving utterances during his trips in Africa and Asia, and his advocacy of disarmament, despite Peking's refusal to sign the test-ban treaty. Suslov then expressed amazement that the Chinese leaders treat the United States as the only enemy and are perfectly willing to establish relations with the "intermediate" and "nonimperialist" zone, consisting of France, Japan and even Western Germany. One may almost read between the lines here the fear of a possible anti-Russian gang-up between China and West Germany. For, said Suslov, what the Chinese wanted above all things was the atom bomb, and they were very angry because the Russians had refused it them. And why had they refused it? Because if China got the atom bomb, others—and in the first place, Western Germany and Japan —would think they were entitled to it. The Soviet atom bombs, Suslov argued, were quite sufficient to protect the whole Socialist camp, including China. And yet, although the Chinese called the atom bomb a "paper tiger," they were determined to have as many of these "paper tigers" as possible.

The Russians also charge the Chinese with "utter cynicism": whereas they object to Russia's attempts to improve relations with the United States, they are perfectly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pleased, in their own opportunist way, to gang up with France and Western Germany—even with an American satellite like Pakistan when this suits their anti-Indian imperialism.

The whole Russian argument becomes extremely confused, what with allegations of Chinese warmongering, Trotskyism, petty bourgeois and Stalinist deviations — all tied together with charges of opportunism in international affairs (getting tied up with France, Pakistan, etc.). But there is one attack on the Chinese that stands out a mile, and that derives from the Chinese claim that "they understand far better than do the Russians the interests of the underdeveloped countries"; that the Russians underrate the historic role of the national liberation movements, and so on. Suslov went so far as to quote a Chinese spokesman as saying that Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe had better not interfere with the countries of Asia and Africa. He quoted another Chinese statement that, sooner or later, the white races would gang up against China—a prophecy strangely like one made by de Gaulle in 1961. From such evidence Suslov concluded that what the Chinese were really after was a divorce between the Soviet Union, the East European countries and the Communist parties of the West, on the one hand, and China and the underdeveloped countries on the other!

> *Their slogan, "The East wind is stronger than the West wind," is a rejection of Lenin's ideas and a substitution for them of a nationalist and even* racialist concept. *. . . The Chinese leaders are trying to tear away the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the USSR and the other Socialist countries and the working class of the capitalist countries.*

But this alleged attempt to divide the noncapitalist world into two spheres—the "poor" countries under Chinese influence and the "rich" countries under Russian influence —is only part of the accusation. Besides being "racialists" — though their "racialism" covers in certain cases both the blacks of Africa and the more-or-less whites of Latin America, and even seems to accept a flirtation with France and Germany—the Russians reproach the Chinese for wanting to corrupt the "world Communist movement" from within, first by creating pro-Chinese factions in all the Communist Parties through the "foul activity" of little groups of renegades, Trotskyites and other suspect characters; and then, by "forming a distinct international bloc" which would oppose the (Russian-dominated) world Communist movement. Already in Belgium, Suslov declared, a phony Communist Party had "replaced" the regular Belgian Communist Party. That was as far as he went on this point, though he could have cited several other "Chinese" manifestations in even such unlikely places as the tiny Communist Party of New Zealand.

What are the Russians going to do about China? They are clearly worried. It was certainly no accident when Suslov disclosed that the "Chinese" faction in the Russian Communist Party—Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich—had been expelled from the party on some unspecified date. Some European commentators think that Russia may now start a real witch hunt against crypto-Chinese, crypto-Stalinites and others who do not follow the Khrushchev line. It is doubtful that there are many "pro-Chinese" in Russia; yet it would be rash to assume that every Russian Communist is convinced at heart that Khrushchev is 100 per cent right and the Chinese 100 per cent wrong. As said before, the "Socialist bloc" was immensely impressive as long as China formed part of it; it is much less so when limited to the Soviet Union plus a handful of half-hearted East European satellites. And some Russians may be unhappily conscious of the difference.

With respect to the non-Communist world, it is not clear what, in material terms, the Chinese can do for the underdeveloped countries, but they have made the most of the "insufficiency" and "inadequacy" of what the Russians have been doing. The Chinese have even gone so far as to say that the Russians were quite prepared to sell the Cuban Revolution down the drain; and that, fortunately, it was saved because at the head of it stood that real Communist, Fidel Castro! Be that as it may, the Russians are primarily interested in Russia and the Chinese have made the most of the fundamental weakness in Khrushchev's comfortable argument that Russian prosperity will ultimately serve the world revolution.

The Chinese ideological challenge is extremely awkward for the Russians, the more so because they must recognize some truth in the Chinese complaint that Russia is an increasingly "conservative" and "have" country, with no very strong sense of "world mission." The sense of world mission was strongest under Lenin, much weaker under both Stalin and Khrushchev. One of the most artificial conventions in Khrushchev's Russia is the cult of Lenin, who is even credited with having produced answers to all the questions raised by the atomic age! The Chinese can spot the speciousness in these Russian ideological quibbles. Insofar as a "world Communist movement" has a future, its most fruitful field is the underdeveloped countries, and the Chinese know that these are far down the Russian list of priorities.

The Soviet-Chinese quarrel has been brewing since 1960, or even before; it has now come into the open, and is seen to be full of the most contradictory charges on both sides. But what happens now? Will the Chinese, as the Russians suggest, start raising territorial questions about the areas in Siberia and Central Asia "stolen" from them by the Czars? Or will they, as the Russians also suggest, strengthen their bonds with "intermediate" countries like Britain, France and Western Germany—all these (and France in particular) being interested in China if only because, according to Suslov, China is now anti-Soviet?

All kinds of curious developments may be expected. Is it, for instance, not likely that, with the Communist bloc split, the Russians will be increasingly drawn to an accommodation with the United States and Western Europe, despite their protestations of Marxist-Leninist purity? In any case, it seems very improbable that the Russo-Chinese quarrel will be patched up as long as Khrushchev is in charge, and it may be some time before we see what impact, if any, the Russo-Chinese quarrel will have on the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. The mass of the Russian people are almost certainly anti-Chinese; but if, as seems likely, there is a "China Lobby" inside the party, will it be bold enough to speak up after the sharp warning contained in Suslov's speech?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nonrecognition

The Diplomatic Trap . . . . . Richard A. Falk

President João Goulart of Brazil was ousted by the insurrectionary use of force. While the *coup d'état* was still in process, President Johnson announced warm sympathy for the rebels. This in itself was most peculiar, but even more surprising was Secretary of State Dean Rusk's statement that the issue of diplomatic recognition did not arise because the new President was selected in the manner provided by the Brazilian constitution. According to this view, a military seizure of the reins of government can legitimize itself merely by following the normal constitutional procedure for Presidential succession — once its illegal use of violence has driven the former head of state from the country. [For a detailed analysis of the Goulart administration and the circumstances of its overthrow, see "Brazil in Perspective" by Andrew Gunder Frank, *The Nation*, April 27.]

The President's announcement came at a time when reports were widespread that Washington was developing a new leniency toward right-wing dictators in Latin America, and that this includes condoning their habit of obtaining political control through military *coups d'état*. The reports of a policy shift suggest that the United States may adopt a revised doctrine of diplomatic recognition based mostly upon *de facto* control. Although official Washington sources insist that nothing has changed, that the policy developed by the Kennedy administration of postponing indefinitely the diplomatic recognition of Latin American coups and of halting their economic aid is still our position, the reassurance is not convincing.

Secretary Rusk recently expressed the policy that had previously governed our recognition practice in almost unsurpassably murky language:

> *Recognition is basically a political act which normally, in the usual circumstance, applies where a government is in control of the country and accepts its international responsibilities, but this will vary from time to time because as a political act it needs to be taken alongside of the other interests of the United States in a particular situation, including our interest in moving jointly with others whenever possible in a concert of policy.*

I suggest a careful study of this statement by anyone eager to acquire the craft of diplomatic double talk. Nevertheless, it is an admirably accurate reflection of current U.S. recognition practice. The pleonastic vagueness of Mr. Rusk's phrasing captures the spirit of our diplomacy and manages to weave a net wide enough to catch such divergent postures as the lack of need to recognize the Mazzilli government in Brazil and the necessity to maintain the virtually permanent nonrecognition of the Mao government in China.

These developments suggest that it is time to review the attitudes of the United States toward diplomatic recognition, especially within the Western Hemisphere. At first glance, recognition is a matter of trivial concern, a diplomatic ritual held over from a more heraldic period of international history. After all, there is no compulsion, legal or otherwise, upon states to maintain diplomatic contact with one another. A state is free at any time to break off diplomatic relations with any other state. The United States has done precisely that to the Castro government, even though it had previously granted recognition. What, then, accounts for the importance of this diplomatic gesture?

First of all, recognition is either granted or withheld at the very inception of a new government or state that has radically broken with its political past. This is a critical period, and recognition, especially by a state dominant in the region, indicates belief in the stability of the new political community, whereas refusal to recognize not only suggests disapproval, but often also reveals a hope or expectation that the change will be reversed, perhaps with the help of the state refusing recognition. Nonrecognition, especially when practiced by the United States in Latin America, evokes the specter of intervention.

Beyond this, however, the subject of diplomatic recognition is worth attention because it often provides a convenient way to consider a nation's entire approach to its international relations. Precisely this kind of broader revelation is contained in the apparent decision to ease our recognition policy toward Latin American dictators. In itself, this new policy may not be intrinsically objectionable—since it may be prudent, even desirable, to base recognition in all cases upon the simple and noninterventionary test of factual control. Our recognition policy at this moment is distressing because it is accompanied by evidence of a renewed willingness to regard right-wing governments as compatible with the pursuit of U.S. objectives in the hemisphere.

The United States, strange as it now seems, was once a revolutionary state, eager for recognition by the European powers. After a period of anxiety, recognition was accorded, but the dynastic monarchs of the Old World for the most part displayed hostility toward the republican upstart in the New World. Distressed by this ideological disapproval, the United States, in the period just after it gained independence, followed the policy that any government possessing control over its people and territory merited recognition. In 1793, Thomas Jefferson put this American view very forcefully: "We cannot deny to any nation that right whereon our own Government is founded—that every one may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases, and change these forms at its own will; and that it may transact its business with foreign nations through whatever organ it thinks proper, whether King, Convention, Assembly, Committee, President or anything else it may choose."

This doctrine of recognition was intended both to affirm the right of peoples to overthrow their governments and to introduce the idea of ideological toleration into international relations. Actually, Jeffer-

Richard A. Falk, author of Law, Morality and War in the Contemporary World *(Praeger), is on the faculty of Princeton University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son's statement was made to support recognition of the government that emerged from the French Revolution. For to deny legitimacy to France would be to deny it to ourselves. Later on, in the period after 1810, Americans had great sympathy for the wars of independence being waged by the Spanish colonies in Latin America. In the 1820s the United States eagerly established diplomatic relations with such newly independent states as Colombia (then including Ecuador and Venezuela), Mexico, Chile and the United Province of Rio de la Plata.

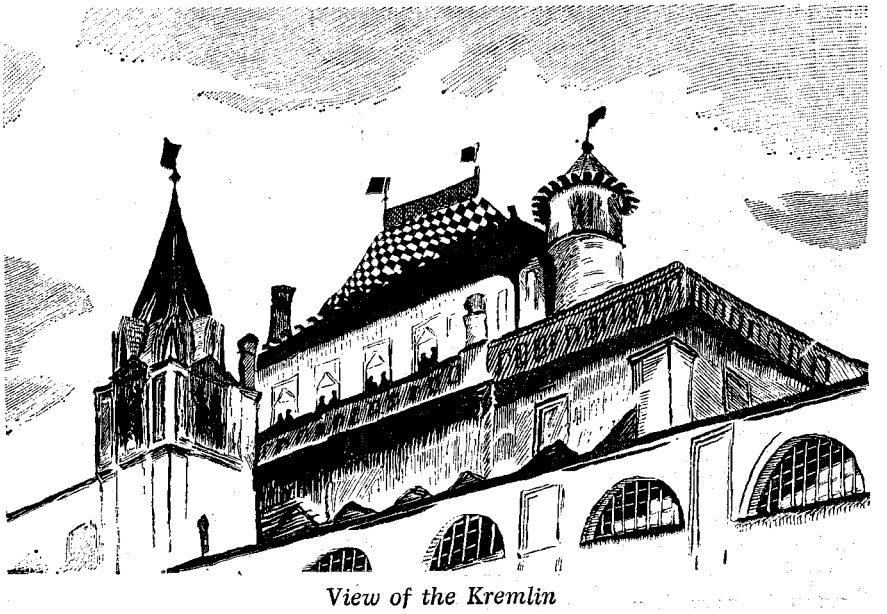
Although the Jefferson view of recognition dominated our diplomatic practice throughout most of the nineteenth century, John Adams, as early as 1818, had made the grant of recognition depend upon both the prospect of stability and the willingness of the new government to fulfill its international obligations. These were rather general conditions, satisfied by a vague reassurance. Toward 1900, however, the United States began to demand that revolutionary governments sign agreements specifying in detail both an ability and a willingness to live up to their international obligations. Especially in Latin America, concern over the future of U.S. investments prompted the replacement of a worthless general promise with a precise, but almost as worthless, written guarantee. These conditions linked recognition with the promotion of our economic interests; they also gave a pretext for later intervention if the conditions were breached. The threat of nonrecognition was quite effective in this setting. Nonrecognition, when practiced by a powerful state on a weaker state, is usually designed to influence the internal policies of the unrecognized state. Thus, our nonrecognition operated in Latin America as a relatively mild form of intervention; occasionally it was accompanied by sterner measures.

Prior to World War I, President Wilson became concerned about violence in Latin American political life. With increasing frequency military dictators were seizing power by unconstitutional means, thereby flouting the fragile democratic procedures of the Latin American republics and, by the way, jeopardizing local U.S. economic interests. To discourage *coups d'état,* Wilson announced that the United States would thereafter refuse to recognize a government that seized control by unconstitutional means — at least until it had demonstrated a serious intention to abide by its constitution. For instance, in July, 1914, Wilson caused the ouster of Huerta's regime in Mexico by withholding recognition after a successful coup, and by depriving Huerta of revenue and arms while providing these to his opponents. This was seen by Mexicans as intervention and has been regarded as partly responsible for the later adoption of the Estrada Doctrine. A Foreign Minister of Mexico, Estrada alleged in 1930 that recognition was an insulting and useless practice. He proposed, instead, that foreign states maintain diplomatic contact with whatever government was in power. If this were done there would be no need for recognition.

In the 1930s the United States was eager to convince Latin America that it really intended to repudiate its interventionary heritage. The initiation of the Good Neighbor Policy in 1933 sparked a revival of the Jeffersonian tradition of factual recognition.

But a stance of such aloofness cannot normally withstand a major political conflict in world affairs. As soon as the stakes are raised to a level where it seems to matter what happens in foreign domestic politics, noninterventionism is discarded, and a more activist diplomacy emerges. The first challenges arose when Nazi groups became influential in several key Latin American countries. The interests of the United States were seriously threatened by this development and resort was had to various forms of intervention. These included nonrecognition, as when a pro-Nazi regime took over in Bolivia during World War II and the United States used the collective machinery of the O.A.S. to withhold recognition. Most other Latin American states cooperated, the new Bolivian Government fell, and was replaced by one more to our liking. Similarly in Cuba today, diplomatic nonintervention gives way when the hostile ideology of a major global rival of the United States penetrates the hemisphere to the extent of acquiring control over a Latin American government. In this era of conflict with communism, the anti-Arbenz uprising in Guatemala (1954) and the invasion of the Bay of Pigs (1961) indicate how far the United States is willing to intervene to keep its ideological enemy out of the hemisphere.

During the Kennedy administration, fear that Castroism would spread beyond Cuba led to a review of United States diplomacy in Latin America. An improved rate of economic development seemed to be the most fruitful way to guard Latin American countries from take-overs by the radical Left. It was also thought that economic development must include an improved standard of living for the masses. Such an objective could not be realized by governments of the radical Right. Also, the United States felt that a stable non-Communist society in



View of the Kremlin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Latin America must move toward democracy. Therefore, President Kennedy sought to discourage military *coups d'état*. Between 1960 and 1963, military groups seized power in Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Honduras. On each occasion, the United States postponed recognition to indicate its displeasure and tried to put pressure upon the coup government to commit itself to democratic procedures. All the regimes were eventually recognized, but the policy at least created an impression of hostility to military dictatorship. Now, with the apparent abandonment of the policy, the opposite impression is created.

In sum, our recognition policy up through 1963 has largely consisted of four main strands that may on occasion overlap one another: First, there is the Jeffersonian notion of automatically recognizing *de facto* governments; second, the nineteenth-century notion of using standards of legitimacy to assess whether a government would preserve our economic interests by upholding its international obligations; third, the Wilsonian idea that the constitutionality and "morality" of the regime are relevant to the decision to recognize; and fourth, the concept of ideological nonrecognition. This last and most modern stand warrants further exploration.

The United States recognition policy contains both an ideological and a pragmatic component. They can be most clearly distinguished by examining the policy of nonrecognition adopted after the triumph of communism in Russia and China. The Russian Revolution succeeded in 1917; the United States did not recognize the new Soviet Government until 1933. Nonrecognition was justified for ideological reasons (communism was a world revolutionary movement with a hostile mission) and because the Soviets had repudiated the public debts of earlier Russian Governments, and had violated the property rights of Americans in Russia. This response to the Soviet Revolution had the unfortunate effect of identifying nonrecognition with ideological disapproval. It meant that public opinion had to be aroused to support the posture of nonrecognition; it also meant that it was very difficult to abandon the posture without eliminating the original basis for disapproval. When the unrecognized government does not change its basic character there is no very convincing argument available to explain a reversal of policy. Domestic opponents of the prospective recognition can argue rather trenchantly that if nonrecognition is premised upon disapproval, recognition implies approval. This association of ideas is damaging because the maintenance of diplomatic relations is normally beneficial even in the absence of approval. The United States is now suffering the consequences of its ideological nonrecognition of China. One serious result is a loss of diplomatic maneuver; another is a process of mutual embitterment.

The pragmatic element that often accompanies ideological nonrecognition is the quest for a favorable bargain. An unrecognized nation may be persuaded to pay something for recognition and thereby escape from the indignity and inconvenience of its status as outcast. Perhaps it will offer assurances as to its future political intentions or agree to meet halfway the grievances of the nonrecognizing state. Thus, in the Litvinov Assignment, the Soviet Union turned over its American assets to the United States Government, which was then supposed to distribute them to Americans with property claims against the Soviet Union. Such an accommodation clears the air and allows the recognizing state to point to the new "reasonableness" of the opposite party.

Back in 1958, John Foster Dulles, not one to slight ideological and moralistic considerations, admitted the pragmatic basis of our policy toward China: "Any time it will serve the interests of the United States to recognize the Chinese Communist regime, we will do it. We are not controlled by dogma or anything of that sort. It's a very simple question: will it serve our interests and the interests of the free world and our allies to whom we are committed to grant recognition?" Recently, Roger Hilsman, while still in the State Department, reaffirmed this point of view.

But it is not simple; there is a trap. The government becomes prisoner of the public opinion it helped to create. In the case of China, the assessment of national interests is impeded by a popular sense of dogmatic opposition that would seem to be contradicted by the establishment of diplomatic recognition. It is precisely because prolonged nonrecognition interferes with the rational pursuit of national interests that it is such an objectionable tactic. A policy of automatic recognition avoids this obstacle and gives a government the flexibility it needs to participate rationally in world politics.

The Soviet and Chinese instances of nonrecognition disclose two elements not clearly visible in the pre-1964 Latin American practice: first, the ideological notion of denying recognition indefinitely if a revolution brings a hostile political philosophy to power in an important state; second, the pragmatic idea, which often accompanies ideological nonrecognition, of granting recognition when the offending government offers a concession. These two ingredients of recognition doctrine now assume critical relevance to the inflamed politics of Latin America.

Last March, Thomas Mann, President Johnson's architect-designate for Latin American policy, was reported to have told a closed gathering of U.S. diplomats in Washington that the United States would no longer withhold recognition from Latin American dictators who seized power in a successful *coup d'état*. This return to a factual approach seems to contrast sharply with the practice that had been followed during the Kennedy administration. A right-wing dictator can now apparently expect to be recognized as soon as he has firm hold of the government. But there is some uncertainty as to what is being done here. Mr. Mann and Mr. Rusk are both unclear about whether they are advocating the Jeffersonian approach of automatic recognition, the pragmatic approach of recognizing whenever there is a net gain, or the Kennedy approach. Each promises to do all three. Mann asserts that he is, in effect, advocating the Estrada Doctrine, goes on to say that this means a case-by-case consideration, which would seem to reflect the pragmatic view of recognition, and then closes with abundant assurances that there has been no departure from the Kennedy practice of withholding recognition on principle from military coups.

We have grown accustomed to confusion and inconsistency on the part of our diplomats, but there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seems to be something more disturbing here. A more or less purposeful confusion is being used to disguise the adoption of an unpopular policy of non-obstructionism toward Latin American dictators. There are two main grounds for concern about this new recognition policy. First, it seems to commit the United States to a double standard: if the government is right wing, it will be recognized when it is in control; if it is left wing or Communist, then it will be recognized only when the United States sees fit, if ever. Mr. Mann evidently made it quite clear that his proposed revision of Latin American policy did not extend to emerging governments of Communist persuasion.

What is more disturbing than the intimation of a shift in recognition policy is the indication that this new view of Latin American dictators includes a laissez faire attitude toward reaction and oppression in the hemisphere. Mr. Mann indicated, for instance, that he had difficulty distinguishing between the governments of Stroessner of Paraguay and Lopez Mateos of Mexico. A further indication of this myopia was the announcement that the United States had finally approved a large Inter-American Bank loan to François Duvalier, a most notorious and brutal dictator, to help finance a potable water project in Haiti. It is one thing to adopt a realistic recognition policy based on factual control; it is quite another to give economic aid to objectionable rulers. Thus, the shift in recognition policy appears to be merely one aspect of a more fundamental revision of U.S. attitudes toward Latin American dictatorships. It is alarming to examine Mr. Mann's listing of our objectives in Latin America: economic development, protection of U.S. investment, nonintervention and opposition to communism. The fulfillment of these objectives is obviously compatible with the existence of almost any non-Communist government, whether democratic or not. It is worth noting that the fourth objective is formulated as opposition to communism rather than as opposition to dictatorship, autocracy or totalitarian government in general.

From this perspective, the situation of Cuba in the hemisphere becomes peculiarly anomalous. By collective decision at Punta del Este, the O.A.S. under U.S. leadership, ostracized Cuba from the Inter-American system, supposedly because the ideology of Marxism-Leninism was "incompatible" with the ideals of the hemisphere. To isolate Cuba for this reason emphasizes the double standard now governing American policy-making. In a sense, the goals of Castro's social revolution, however objectionable may have been his earlier involvement in the nuclear politics of the cold war, are closer than those of the rightist dictators to the proclaimed objectives of the Alliance for Progress. Castro's form of radical socialism, despite the active hostility and opposition of the United States, is seeking to achieve rapid economic development in a manner that resembles and appeals to the most dynamic of the Afro-Asian states. Surely one hopes that Marxism-Leninism is more compatible with U.S. values than the corrupt and brutal fascism of Duvalier. And yet the Haitian Government receives United States indulgence while Castro is pilloried.

Several individual issues are at stake: first, the general folly of a policy of prolonged nonrecognition such as has been used against Peking China; second, the recent abandonment of ideological nonrecognition with respect to emerging Latin American dictators of the Right; third, the retrogressive quality of a recognition policy that treats the radical Right more indulgently than the radical Left; and, fourth, the apparent fact that Mr. Mann's new doctrine of recognition is symptomatic of a diplomatic adjustment, at least in Latin America, to the position that rightist dictatorships are compatible with U.S. objectives.

The Dodge City Syndrome . . . . . Stanley Meisler

A peculiar American disease has been isolated by medical scientists. The disease was first described in 1960 by Dr. J. V. Brown in the *Western Journal of Surgery*. An editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* then drew wide medical attention to it. Commercial houses are now marketing products designed to cope with it. Statistics on incidence and morbidity are scanty, and the name of the disease is hazy. Some doctors call it "the fast draw syndrome"; others, "the Dodge City syndrome." But whatever the name, it is with us.

It is most prevalent, of course, among the numerous special gun clubs that have sprouted across the land in recent years. Members, taking a leaf out of days of yore and some scripts of today, draw guns from their holsters, quick as lightning, and fire away. Unlike their legendary heroes, they don't shoot at one another but aim at balloons. Sometimes, though, they miss the balloon and hit themselves in the right foot.

Dr. Brown observed sixteen cases of the syndrome before writing his article, "Gunshot Wounds of Lower Extremity: Fast Draw Syndrome." "The typical case of the fast draw syndrome," Dr. Brown wrote, "is a young man in his late teens or early twenties who presents with a small caliber gunshot wound of the lower extremity, accidentally self-inflicted, while practicing a 'fast draw.'" Brown explained that the patient is "too slow on the draw and too fast with his trigger finger." As a result, he pulls the trigger before the gun is out of the holster and while it is still pointed at his right foot.

In most cases under Dr. Brown's observation, the wounds were made by bullets from small caliber guns. But Dr. Brown reported that one patient, drawing with a .45 caliber gun, fired an 11.46 mm. diameter bullet that tore through the lateral aspect of the right popliteal fossa. The patient was then confined to a hospital for 277 days.

The American Medical Association, in its editorial on the problem, puts the blame, at least indirectly, on Owen Wister and his 1902 novel, *The Virginian*. In the climactic chapter, the AMA *Journal* says, the hero and villain face each other on

Stanley Meisler is a Washington newsman.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the deserted street of a small Western town. Suddenly the villain pulls out his gun, but the hero, quicker on the draw, fires first and shoots the villain dead. Actually the AMA editor's memory of the book has been dimmed somewhat by time and television. In the penultimate chapter, "With Malice Aforethought," the Virginian does face the badman Trampas in a gun duel, but he lets Trampas fire first: "A wind seemed to blow his sleeve off his arm, and he replied to it, and saw Trampas pitch forward." Trampas has been killed by two quick shots. "Both of mine hit," says the Virginian. "His must have gone mighty close to my arm." A friend who watched the duel cries, "You were that cool! That quick!" "I'll see you boys again," the Virginian says, heavily, and he walks away.

The AMA does not mean to imply that every victim of the Dodge City syndrome has read Owen Wister. Powerful ideas have a way of crashing through book covers. Not every Marxist has read Marx. Nor has every Darwinist read Darwin. And so no Wisterner need read Wister. The ideas come through nicely in the mass media.

Dr. Brown, who first noticed the syndrome in California, also noticed the growth of fast-draw clubs there and the export of these clubs to other states. The most skilled members now assemble each year for the Big Bear Leather Slap at Big Bear Lake, Calif. At the Leather Slap, two men stand, pistols in their hip holsters, 21 feet away from a pair of small balloons. The starter blows his whistle. The men draw and fire away. The first to break a balloon wins the round. Eldon Carl, a twenty-nine-year-old deputy sheriff from San Diego, took the Leather Slap this year, and that makes him the national champion —America's fastest draw.

Carl, who also won the championship in 1960 and 1961, explains that he began his quick-draw practice with blanks, then used wax bullets, and finally became skilled enough to fire with live ammunition. "If you pull the trigger too soon, you could blow your leg off with live ammunition," Carl said. "With blanks or wax you only burn the holster or bruise yourself." Carl said his average time for a quick draw was 16/100ths of a second. "This is much too fast for the normal eye to follow . . . and much too fast for a television gun-slinger," he said.

It is not too difficult for quick-draw artists to obtain the kind of belt and holster they need. The George Lawrence Co., of Portland, Ore., for example, has an extensive *Lawrence Gun-Slinger Line*. The Lawrence catalogue describes the belts and holsters as "authentic reproductions of 'Old West' masterpieces that revive the experience, pleasure and art of quick-draw shooting." For $34.65, Lawrence sells its oiled leather No. 77 Gun-Slinger belt and holster in a basket weave. The catalogue explains that the No. 77 allows the holster to lie "low on hip, pitching gun butt forward for firm, easy grip and fast draw."

No. 77 evidently is a favorite among quick draws. Lawrence blurbs this fan letter from a satisfied customer, A. H. James of Waynesville, N.C.: "This is in regards to the 77 quick draw belt and holster that I am using now for fast draw. I have been using this for a number of years and although it is now too small, I can still draw in 12/100ths of a second. I have tried just about all the name-brand, quick-draw outfits and I find that yours holds together and takes the punishment better than the others. I guess that I draw my S. A. Colt 500 times a week and that really puts wear on the leather and the Colt. With my new No. 77 rig I believe I can draw in 10/100ths of a second, and that is my aim. Thanks a million for making the best." These quick-draw times mean that James, if he decides to make the trip to California for next year's Big Bear Leather Slap, could be our next national champion.

Some commercial manufacturers have made an attempt to market products that may be useful in preventing the Dodge City syndrome. Weapons, Inc., of Culver City, Calif., for example, sells a new wax load kit: "FOR FAST DRAW PRACTICE. Kit of 50 primer .38 S&W Cal. Brass cartridges, loading wax and instructions. Complete . . . $2.45." And Edward H. Bohlin of Hollywood, Calif. (Saddlemakers-Silversmiths), sells a whole line of superfast *Gun-Slingers* designed to do away with holes in the right foot. The catalogue explains:

This type of holster was used in the Old West and was carried on the belt in such a manner that the handle of the gun was above the top edge of the belt and away from the sides of the wearer so it would not interfere with the drawing. Some of the "old-timers" cut a slot in the lower edge of the belt to bring the holster lower on the thigh to facilitate the drawing. The holster is so constructed that the gun handle and hammer have ample clearance from the side of the belt, thus the thumb on the hammer, and the fingers gripping the handle do not touch the belt. We found that sometimes holsters are so made that while cocking the hammer the thumb inadvertently catches on the long shank, letting the hammer drop before the gun is out of the holster. Also, sometimes, the fingers around the handle will catch and will cause the shooter to accidentally drop the gun back in the holster. These obstacles for fast drawing have been eliminated in this new holster.

As an added safety feature Bohlin sends each customer a brochure describing many technical points that a new gun-slinger needs to know about his *Gun-Slinger* holster before shooting at balloons.

Despite these attempts to make the quick draw safe, it is doubtful that the Dodge City syndrome can be eliminated entirely. After all, 16/100ths of a second is a very short time in which to both fire a gun and pull it away from your right foot. Ugly wounds in the lower extremities will continue to scratch the records of medical science. But this, after all, is a small price to pay for retention of an art that is not only constitutional but distinctly American, like apple pie.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Big Puff

Ivan Gold

One hears of novels being turned down by publishers, one even meets people who claim to have written them; but the experience, in this country at least, need not be final. The heart-warming tale of the book that was refused five, ten, even thirty times, and then went on to notoriety, is part of our literary folklore. There are too many publishers, they all sit on manuscripts too long, their choice of which bad novels to bring out and which to reject is too capricious, for a work of fiction ever to be hopelessly moribund. So long as one is spared the results, there is something appealing in this apparent climate of total receptivity. Like Philip Roth, who says of *The Martyred* (a recent novel to which I will return), "... [it] seems to me particularly important for its having been able to have been written at all," I have a writer's respect for any novelist who finishes anything in these troubled days. And, I do not think the reading public would be much worse off than it already is if every novel submitted for publication was, in fact, published. A lot of dedicated nice people would find new meaning in their lives—for America is not really unkind to its published authors—and, perhaps, riches. (The vanity presses would suffer, but no harm there.) Publishing houses would delegate to certain items on their fiction lists the job of paying for the rest, budget advertising accordingly, drop the right press releases and the right remarks during the Book Week melees and, in due course, a new set of griffins would rip and claw into the top ten. Quality might seem to suffer, but only in a quantitative way. The tiny trickle of worth-while fiction would continue to flow into the swollen stream.

I'd been warned before its publication that Richard Kim's *The Martyred* was being groomed for stardom. It had been turned down (no matter) several times by other places; now Braziller, an admirable, adventurous house which yet must back an occasional winner, chose it for a major drive. Very probably, the book's reception surpassed their expectations. If you missed the reviews, you probably saw them recapitulated in the large, ever-bolder ads. Front page, *New York Times Book Review*: "... in the great tradition of Job, Dostoievsky and Albert Camus ... a magnificent achievement and it will last." Pearl Buck: "An extraordinary book. ... A major achievement." *New York Review of Books*: "The form beautifully fits the content." Etc. As far as I have been willing to pursue it, the ads are truthful in going on to state that response to the book has been uniformly favorable, the one exception being a post-campaign maverick notice in the *Village Voice*. I can only guess that, along with the mechanics of book-making, *The Martyred* was helped in its career by coinciding with Be Kind to a Korean Novelist Week. For there cannot be — can there? — a conspiracy afoot to debauch what is left of our literary taste, nor can Braziller's publicity department have been that nice to *everybody*.

TiMag, on the bandwagon, tells what Kim's novel is about: "... dealing with spiritual agony, this remorseless and controlled first novel takes the Korean war as its setting and the presumed martyrdom of twelve Christian ministers as its theme. Modern sainthood, the author finds, most often is achieved by men racked by doubt." This is a fair summary, since the novel is uncluttered by people. The themes its shadows serve and endlessly discuss (the Meaninglessness of War; the Elusiveness of Truth; the difficulty, even or particularly for a Christian minister, of achieving Faith—which involves puzzling such questions as *Is there a Life after Death* and *If God exists, why does He permit the mess down here*) would empty the seminaries. The action is advanced by an infinite series of staccato tête-à-têtes — the narrator with the rest of the cast — whose transparency and tedium are paralyzing. And, worst of all, the style, which has been praised for its austerity, urgency, and lack of fattiness, contains speeches like the following:

> *The truth of the matter is that the Reds got wind of our operation. We learned that from a double agent we had planted in their Counterintelligence. They were about to take a crack at our network. It all happened so fast I barely had enough time to tell the chaplain to get out. To my surprise, he refused to go underground. Too proud, you know. So I had to kidnap him, so to speak, and whisk him off to the South.*

And then there are countless lines like these:

> *He looked at me as though startled by the question.*
> *She gasped in protest.*
> *There was in the tone of his voice an unmistakable challenge.*
> *His passionate words struck me with relentless force, piercing deep into my heart.*
> *I was dismayed at the prospect.*
> *I was startled by his abrupt and unexpected question.*
> *He paused and I could see the pain in his eyes.*
> *I did not respond; somehow, he managed to surprise me.*
> *He put his hand on my shoulder and made an obvious effort to control himself.*
> *Chaplain Koh looked preoccupied. ... said the chaplain matter-of-factly.*

which read like the efforts of a poor but earnest translator to pare all distracting nuance from the first language in order to thunder home its meaning in every available cliché of the second, so that interest and perhaps also meaning itself are very nearly obliterated.

One of the more ecstatic reviewers (Job, Dostoievsky, et al.) tells us that we have come to the wrong place if we expect exoticism—he means that Kim might have been named Brown for all that his nationality intrudes into the book. But exoticism is not all ginkgo trees. The fact is that the exotic—"having the charm or fascination of the unfamiliar" — is precisely what most people are responding to. Kim's background is given great play in the blurbs and reviews. He offers us the dilemma of a Christian minister in a Buddhist/Confucian country, the kind of spiritual crisis which might more readily beset a

Ivan Gold, author of a collection of short stories, Nickel Miseries *(Viking), received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1963 and is the recipient of the Richard & Hinda Rosenthal Foundation Award for 1964.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

priest trapped in the middle of a Bedford-Stuyvesant gang war. Though the Korean War is largely off-stage (losing out to what the same reviewer, Chad Walsh, Sunday *Times*, calls "the war within"), we bring our guilt and confusions about that debacle to what looks like an insider's report; and we are intended to do exactly that.

Most exotic of all, here is a young Asian performing in a foreign — our very own — language. Paul Engle, who runs the Creative Writing Program at the State University of Iowa, from which Kim has one of four American degrees, tells us that the author kept thinking "what it must have been like to Conrad when he wrote his first novel in English." It must have been bloody hell, and let us be grateful for the miracle. If Kim had translated his novel back into the Korean it appears to have come out of, we would doubtless have had his name coupled with Samuel Beckett's in the utterances and publications from our nation-wide Midwest.

Kim, of course, may be unaffected by these irresponsible, perhaps well-meaning puffs and one day become a writer; there are enough good descriptive passages and suddenly illumined scenes, and, God knows, enough earnestness, for this to be hoped. Also, beyond question, there is enough anguish. Much is made by Engle, Roth, et al., of the fact that Kim, if not his characters, really exists, and is anguished; and Korea, though this fact is better conveyed by the barest outline of its history, is certainly an anguished land. But what kind of equation is this? If suffering assured art, we might satisfy our need for it by finishing up — this is the key — and then endlessly rereading, hardback or soft, the stories of our lives.

This most recent propulsion of a third-rate novel to its brief moment in the sun differs only in detail from the countless times it has been done before. That in this instance, along with the puffers and pluggers, a couple of writers who ought to know better, or care a little more, have added to the accolades bestowed on a decent young man who happens also to be their ex-student, merely points up what by now almost everyone must suspect — the growing dissociation between the fate of a novel in the market place and any merit it may possess.

Fuzz's Progress

Diane di Prima

The term "harassment of the arts" is relatively new but it has already become a byword in New York and other cities of this country. Four theatres alone have been closed; writers and painters are spending more time in the courtroom than at the typewriter or easel. The current outbreak is merely an acceleration of a process which has been building for some time. One of the more publicized cases from that earlier phase was the federal government's seizure of the Living Theatre for back taxes on October 17, 1963. Contrary to popular impression, co-director Julian Beck stated he had been paying these taxes in small installments; the action was taken arbitrarily and without the customary period of grace in which the theatre might have raised the necessary money.

The following chronology of more recent cases is by no means complete and is limited to the New York area (except where otherwise stated), but it indicates certain patterns as well as the manner of persecution. To fully explain the legal complexities would be impossible here, but it may be useful to point out that the three main law-enforcement agencies at work are: New York City's Department of Licenses; the New York State Division of Motion Pictures (under the Board of Education) which licenses films; the New York City police and occasionally fire, building or other municipal authorities.

December, 1963: The City administration broke its 1961 agreement with the Artist-Tenants Association and began denying applications for Artist-in-Residence permits — which allow artists to live in lofts — on the basis of the new zoning code. That agreement specified that if certain safety standards were met, and if there were no more than two artists to each building, the city would not deny Artist-in-Residence standing merely on the basis of zoning or occupancy regulations. At present over 2,500 Manhattan artists are registered as living in lofts (the zoning term defining premises normally—or formerly—occupied by a light manufacturing business, and desirable to artists because of the large inexpensive space they offer).

On April 3, 1964, the ATA staged a demonstration for which 1,400 people turned out. On April 6, they had a meeting with city officials. The compromise plan which was unofficially offered would, by not allowing new applications in manufacturing areas, slowly establish a few ghettos of loft areas available to artists. There is very little hope that ATA and the City will reach an agreement. If all else fails, the artists feel they must go ahead with the general boycott which they threatened in 1961.

December 7, 1963: A performance of Jack Smith's film *Flaming Creatures* was scheduled at the Tivoli Theatre. A crowd of 600-800 people was kept waiting and finally dispersed: the manager had been warned by a phone call from the Bureau of Licenses not to open that night.

February 2, 1964: Maurice Margules of the Metro Coffee Shop received a summons for presenting "entertainment" — poetry readings — without a coffeehouse license (in March, 1961, a statute was enacted redefining the coffeehouse and requiring it to be licensed for the presentation of certain forms of enter-

"Fresh, vital, taunting"*

M. L. ROSENTHAL

Blue Boy on Skates

In this first book of his own poems Mr. Rosenthal speaks with an "unusual blend of irony and tenderness . . . subtle sophistication of form." — GERMAINE BRÉE. "Fresh, vital, taunting, penetrating, his poems illuminate a contemporary metropolitan world." —*RICHARD EBERHART. "The poems are small . . . but the effects are ever so often large."
— HOWARD NEMEROV

At all bookstores • $3.75

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
New York, N. Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tainment). The Metro has no admission charge or minimum; the readings are attended by a few dozen writers. After the readings, contributions are collected from the audience and turned over to the poet. The COP (Committee on Poetry) was formed, including poets Paul Blackburn and Allen Ginsberg, among others. The case was tried and the Metro was acquitted. COP's attorney interprets the acquittal as a sign that the statute involved is recognized to be unconstitutional, since this was the only ground on which a defense was made. However, the presiding judge made no statement at the time of acquittal, and since the decision came from a lower court, it does not set a precedent. Negotiations are being conducted between COP and the Department of Licenses in an attempt to revamp the coffeehouse law.

February 14: Lou Lloyd, operator of the Pocket Theatre, received a summons for showing unlicensed films. The Pocket Film Society, an experimental film group, had provided the works presented. Mr. Lloyd's theatre license was suspended for thirty days; he did not appeal the sentence. The plays by Harold Pinter which were being performed there moved to another theatre, and the Pocket Dance Series, a series of seven concerts by young choreographers (James Waring, Fred Herko, Yvonne Rainer and others) was canceled.

February 17: The owner of the Gramercy Arts Theatre — where the Film Makers Cooperative had been showing experimental films for some time — received a similar summons. His theatre license has been suspended for ninety days. The producers of *Diary of a Madman*, which was scheduled to open there on April 16, are appealing for a postponement of the suspension. (We had heard that something similar had happened at the Gate Theatre, but upon calling the theatre were informed that nothing of the kind had occurred there. The theatre owner said that the Gate Film Club had been "thrown out" as soon as the theatre had received a phone call from the License Department. However one interprets this statement, it clearly suggests that intimidation is at work.)

March 3: *Flaming Creatures* was seized on the grounds of obscenity at the New Bowery Theatre. Jonas Mekas, president of the Film Makers Cooperative, and three others, were arrested: the police also confiscated their movie projector and screen. The trial has now been set for May 18.

March 7, Los Angeles: Kenneth Anger's film, *Scorpio Rising*, was seized by the vice squad at the Cinema Theatre. Anger had received an award from the Ford Foundation just a few days before.

March 13: Police interrupted a showing at the Writers' Stage of Jean Genet's film *Un Chant d'Amour*. The film was seized on the grounds of obscenity; Jonas Mekas and Pierre Cottrell were arrested, and another projector and screen were impounded. Some days later, the owner of the Writers' Stage received a summons for showing an unlicensed film.

March 14: Theodora Bergery, owner of the New Bowery Theatre, attempted to cancel her lease with the American Theatre for Poets, Inc., the lessees of her premises. She stated that on March 9, she had received a summons from the License Department; on Friday, March 13, she had received a phone call from the same department and was told that if the performances of the American Theatre for Poets were allowed to go on that weekend, her license would be suspended, but that if she "got rid of" her tenant they would forget the matter.

March 17: Kenneth Jacobs of the Film Makers Cooperative received a summons from the City License Department for operating a motion picture theatre (the New Bowery again) without a license. That night the Fire Department also attended the screening, and set a match to the curtain and stage hangings to see if they were fireproof. Joel Markham, a painter, was hanging a show in the lobby; as the fire inspectors were leaving, one of them said to Mr. Markham in a threatening tone, "This theatre is going to burn down." (The Metro Coffee Shop mentioned above had an unexplained fire that month.)

March 18: Theodora Bergery successfully locked the American Theatre for Poets out of the New Bowery Theatre by means of a court order which was later upheld. The New York Poets Theatre performances of one-act plays by Diane di Prima, LeRoi Jones and Frank O'Hara went on that Friday at midnight at the Writers' Stage, and twice the following weekend in a loft. But the theatre's new program of plays by Michael McClure, James Schuyler and Kenneth Koch, which had been scheduled to open on April 3, has been indefinitely postponed. The film showings, readings and concerts of new dance and music scheduled for April also had to be canceled. The license of the New Bowery Theatre has been suspended for thirty days.

March 18: New York State's Division of Motion Pictures served Alan S. Marlowe of the American Theatre for Poets and Kenneth Jacobs of the Film Makers Cooperative with summonses for "exhibiting an unlicensed motion picture in a place of public amusement for pay." The summonses were based on the show of the previous night. On that night, no tickets had been sold; at the entrance to the theatre a cigar box had been placed on a table, and a sign requesting that the audience "contribute to the Coop's anti-censorship fund" had been taped to the table. At the trial, the two groups will raise the question of whether this kind of voluntary contribution constitutes "pay."

March 22: The Committee for Freedom of the Arts was formed with the purpose of holding demonstrations, informing the public (via a newsletter and other means), providing legal aid. Its headquarters are at 35 Cooper Square, New York, and its membership includes prominent American writers, painters, theatre artists and film makers.

April 3: Lenny Bruce was arrested at the Cafe Au Go Go for "giving an indecent performance." Howard Solomon, owner of the Au Go Go was arrested at the same time. At the police station, Solomon found a member of the License Department waiting for him with a summons based on another charge. On April 7, Lenny Bruce was arrested again, this time with Ella Solomon, Howard's wife. A License Department inspector issued another summons on this occasion, although the official policy of this department is that it is *not* a censorship agency and will not act as such.

The week of April 6, San Francisco: A showing of Kama Sutra sculptures by Ron Boise was seized for obscenity at the Vorpal Gallery. The police carted away eleven metal statues and arrested Ed Muldoon, the gallery owner.

We have not mentioned the harassment of the Cafe La Mama and the Cafe Cino, both coffeehouses which present plays; the fifteen summonses issued by the Department of Buildings to village coffee shops on the day after the Metro won an acquittal; the closing of the Washington Square Theatre, whose owner has received and fought eleven summonses since he opened; the harassment of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

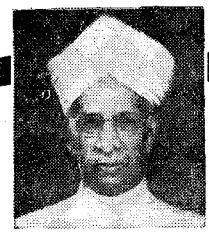
the Hardware Poets Theatre (a loft theatre which finally solved its licensing problems by becoming a private club), of the Bread and Puppets Theatre (another loft theatre which subsists on donations), and of Mort Lewis, whose tiny theatre in his own apartment held seats for only sixteen people, all invited.

There is almost nowhere in New York where one can now go to see the new cinema or the new theatre. Downtown Manhattan, where all the New York incidents took place and which has been the heart of young *avant-garde* work, is growing dark.

What has happened? Are the arts in America running amok? Is the harassment an attempt to "clean up New York for the World's Fair"? Are real estate interests, greedy for expansion, trying to drive out the artists? Or has the range of human consciousness so widened, the area which concerns "art" so extended, the mores of the society so changed, that officialdom has become alarmed?

Perhaps it is simply that after the war, one generation of artists arrived at their maturity, broke new ground and then grew respectable, as is the way of the world. Another generation has now come of age. All they ask is to do their work for whoever loves it or has need of it. But they are determined to utilize fully materials which their elders readied for them; among these are politics, drugs, homosexuality and what Susan Sontag has termed "intersexuality." For the artists, these are all means to an end: expanding human consciousness. The shape of man is changing, and the change is picking up speed.

Diane di Prima has published two books of poetry and a book of prose, Dinners and Nightmares *(Corinth); her play* Murder Cake, *was first produced off-Broadway last year.*



Introduction to
RADHAKRISHNAN
The Man and His Thought
S. J. SAMARTHA
India's President as philosopher-statesman. "Clearly sets forth Radhakrishnan's basic ideas. Important and timely."—Bradford Smith, author of *Portrait of India.*
$2.25, *paper,* $3.95, *cloth*—*At bookstores*
ASSOCIATION PRESS • N. Y. C. 10007

Now in Paperback! $1.95
SUMMERHILL
A RADICAL APPROACH TO CHILD REARING
BY A. S. NEILL
With a Foreword by
ERICH FROMM
Cloth Edition $5.75
HART PUBLISHING COMPANY
74 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

THEATRE

HAMLET

I walked out on *Hamlet* at the Lunt-Fontanne Theatre. I had followed it attentively for three hours and I could no more. Not that this was the worst *Hamlet* I had ever seen—far from it—but after witnessing countless productions of the play, I could not take another which, apart from commercial considerations, had so little purpose or reason for being.

Almost as taxing as seeing *Hamlet* again under such circumstances is the irritation of reading comments on its leading actor. For how is one to judge a Hamlet unless some idea is conveyed as to what the play itself is supposed to mean. Do we really know what it means?

It is many different things to different people. The "traditional" or schoolboy's *Hamlet* is the story of a man, cursed because "the native hue of resolution is sullied o'er with the pale cast of thought." While this may be generally true, it explains very little: Hamlet in the play is extraordinarily animated, rashly impulsive, even fierce. (He kills not once, but several times.) He turns on Ophelia in passionate scorn, he enters heedlessly into dueling contests, jumps into graves, terrifies his mother. Inactive? Far too active!

Hamlet is the most "interpreted" figure in literature. Among the interpretations in recent critical writing are those of Ernest Jones, Bertolt Brecht, Francis Fergusson, Lionel Abel. Gordon Craig, who directed the play for the Moscow Art Theatre in 1912, thought the play's action signified a search for the truth in a world of gaudy deception. (He covered all the characters except Hamlet in a sheath of gold.) In Moscow last spring, I saw a note in Craig's hand restating the play's theme as a conflict between the material and the spiritual. Underneath it Stanislavsky had affixed *his* comment: "That is *not* the play."

Hamlet has also been called the first "existentialist" play. Hamlet's dejection, his "nausea" ("How stale, flat and unprofitable seem to me the uses of this world") precede his hearing about the murder of his father and cannot be wholly ascribed to his mother's too hasty remarriage.

One of the most startling interpretations, based on a 1956 production in Kracow, is reported by the Polish critic Jan Kott in his forthcoming book *Shakespeare Our Contemporary.* (Kott's reading of *King Lear* inspired the Peter Brook-Paul Scofield production of that play which we are soon to see in New York.) In the Kracow production of *Hamlet* the play was seen in the murky light of Stalin's Russia! The play became pre-eminently political. The keynote is "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark"—a line three times repeated. Special emphasis too was laid on "Denmark is a prison." Even the Gravedigger's speech, "Now thou dost ill to say the gallows is built stronger than the Church," must be stressed in this altered context.

Everyone in *Hamlet,* Jan Kott writes, is *spying* on everyone else—even the dodo Polonius. "Behind every curtain in the Elsinore palace," he goes on to say, "someone is hiding. . . . Fear gnaws at everything:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marriage, love, friendship." This may have been directly relevant to Shakespeare, the critic suggests, for the play was written when the Essex conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth was in the making. In *Hamlet*, Kott continues, everyone talks politics. There is no room for love in such an atmosphere. "When politics displaces all other concerns, it becomes a form of madness."

The various interpretations tend to overlap and merge. So the one just referred to parallels that of Francis Fergusson who asserts that "the rottenness of Denmark" constitutes the play's central situation. This is faced by two basic postures: that of Hamlet's Renaissance skepticism which makes him doubt the wisdom or efficacy of revenge, and that of the other prince, Fortinbras, who might be conceived either as a medieval knight or as an ultra-modern man who, *without metaphysical question*, proceeds to get his job or duty done.

I have myself always thought of Hamlet as a passionate person capable of heroic action, but "corrupted" by misgivings as to the human worth of such deeds. There is such a confusion of motives in him, because of what he beholds outside and within himself, that though brave enough to undertake anything, he cannot convince himself that any course of action is the just one.

Hamlet is far too rich a work to be wholly clear. (That is why T. S. Eliot accounted it a "failure.") Hence a safe manner to stage it is by way of sheer melodrama, as a glorious showpiece—which may well have been the Elizabethan way. It was certainly Tyrone Guthrie's way in his Minneapolis production. What must never happen with *Hamlet*, if it is to interest us in the theatre, is to produce it in a haphazard, ad-lib fashion. And that is precisely what has occurred in John Gielgud's production.

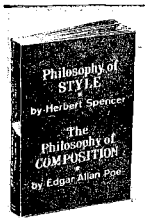
It is not a "bad" *Hamlet*, but rather no *Hamlet* at all. I was not disturbed or mystified to find the play set in a simulacrum of a New York backstage during rehearsal time, with actors in their work clothes (though the Player King, Queen and their attendants wear costumes). All this may have been intended to show that the play could do without theatrical "*trappings*," *that it is universal. But* as the play progressed, with here and there a nice reading and an occasional bright bit of business to illustrate the text — the actors' diction, be it said in commendation, was nearly always intelligible — I could not discern, apart from its plot, what the play was supposed to be about. In what way did it show, as Shakespeare tells us the theatre must, "the very age and body of the time"—except perhaps by its exposure of Broadway opportunism?

We are given little beyond a series of disparate recitations composing no consummate idea or picture. Hume Cronyn's Polonius had its witty points; Alfred Drake's Claudius, within very modest limits, made sense. But the only truly stirring moment is vouchsafed us by the Ghost of Gielgud's voice which possesses qualities of true characterization, situation, mood and feeling, though I must also add that I detest Hamlet's father taped and sounded on a public address loud-speaker.

I could see little more in Richard Burton than his splendid personal attributes. His voice is powerful: its forte might smash a windowpane; his person is impressively robust, his speech excellent, his readings reasonable, his mask suitably troubled. Yet I could not tell to what creative end this histrionic instrument was being employed. The actor's mind, for all his effort, seemed elsewhere, distracted, as if the challenge of this stupendous role was something he could manage technically but which engaged no part of himself in any profoundly personal sense. As a result, Hamlet's agony and indignation often seemed little more than churlishness. He appeared unhappy enough but not about anything in the play.

Like so many actors today, Burton is now a mere visitor to the stage. Without discipline, without a commanding theatrical structure or institution, without a dominant director, no actor can be used as an artist to the extent of his capacities. There is something "lost," almost tragic, as Burton stands on the stage amid, but distinctly apart from, his fellow actors. He looked altogether uncertain as to whether he wanted to pursue his career as an actor any further.

HAROLD CLURMAN



FOR WRITERS!

Enrich your style through Herbert Spencer's and Edgar Allan Poe's classic principles that have influenced many of the world's great authors. A help for writers eager to get published! Send $1.00 to

PAGEANT PRESS
101 5th Ave., N.Y. 3, Dept. N.

Nonviolence
...can it work for
- **civil rights?**
- **political freedom?**
- **economic equality?**

NONVIOLENCE
William Robert Miller

The *why, how* and history of nonviolence, with a Christian appraisal. "Enlightening," says REINHOLD NIEBUHR. "Excellent background reading for anyone who wants to know the basis and meaning of the current nonviolent Negro revolution." — JAMES FARMER. *Just published*—$6.95 at stores.

ASSOCIATION PRESS / N.Y.C.

MUSIC

NEW MUSIC AND THE AMERICAN MAINSTREAM

The current abundance of new-music performance in New York has profound consequences for our public musical awareness. In particular, the necessity to find enough challenging material to fill so many programs has transformed the "advanced" composer into a celebrity who cannot turn out enough works of sufficient "advancement" to satisfy the demand. Consequently, the whole range of his earlier work has been explored; and instead of the once-a-decade misrepresentation through which a composer's identity used to be known, it is now possible to get a full view of his creative accomplishment within a season or two. The release of a composer from his rigid appearance as a one-utterance phenomenon reveals the vital relation of his work to the principal concerns of the contemporary intellectual mainstream, and gives his objectives the same urgency for the contemporary audience that those of the Romantics had for their time.

The problem confronting the twentieth-century composer is the one encountered in all areas of contemporary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thought — that of establishing meaningful order in the absence of traditional absolutes. Tonality, in this sense, was the metaphysical certainty of music; its collapse after the discovery, in the post-Wagnerian period, that its resources were not infinitely extensible (despite the heroic efforts of late Mahler and early Schoenberg to prove otherwise) produced a metaphysical crisis, to which the first twentieth-century generation of composers responded by searching for new absolutes rooted in what they saw as "natural" principles.

But to the generation that followed it was painfully evident that such qualities were "universal" only within the output of the composer who had formulated them. This second, postwar, generation faced the full implications of the metaphysical impasse, and was forced to recognize that the magnificent exterior of early twentieth-century music was a final insight into the resources of traditional manner rather than a genuinely new musical medium for the consolidation and extension of new structural ideas. Part of this generation simply refused to admit the existence of the dilemma, and took refuge in ritual reproductions of the literal surface of early twentieth-century style. Another group has (with suspicious alacrity) abandoned all hope, justifying its despair by the curious device of first constructing works according to manifestly absurd procedures and then proclaiming that the absurdity of the result proves the futility of making any further attempts at coherent organization.

Such irresponsible attitudes have not, however, had much currency among American composers, undoubtedly in part because of their awareness of the tradition brought here by Schoenberg and Stravinsky, but certainly as much because of the American intellectual environment in which their development has taken place. Instead of existential despair, they have preferred the rational retrenchment of empiricism, the attempt to create meaning and coherence on purely relativistic terms. To do so, they have explored beneath the surface of twentieth-century tradition to determine what might be made perceivable on the basis of what had already proved perceivable in existing music. In this way, every new compositional hypothesis could be "tested," not against absolutes, but in terms of the already acquired experience of the composer himself and of his sophisticated listeners. Surely the significance of exploring the extent to which human control can be effectively extended over situations of extreme complexity is as crucial for our century as was the discovery of the individual consciousness for the last.

Of all the composers in the postwar generation, Milton Babbitt has most fully envisioned this world of responsibilities and resources, and most wholeheartedly accepted its consequences along with its advantages. Babbitt's approach has been to extend the properties that give internal coherence to "Classical" twelve-tone music to every dimension of presentation and sound. Thus he creates a fascinating new contrapuntal environment in which polyphonic threads are traced not only through lines of pitches, as in traditional music, but also through "lines" of register, tone color and volume level. Every musical event is given a multiple function, and the resulting syntax is so "efficient" that a single sound may convey as much information as, say, a whole section of a Mozart symphony — with predictable consequences for the listener whose conceptual framework remains unadjusted. The correspondence with Webern is evident; but whereas Webern maintained clarity in a concentrated framework by severely limiting the number and complexity of events and relations, Babbitt, departing from Schoenberg's richer and more suggestive polyphony, populates the same articulative space with a much greater concentration of occurrences and associations.

The Composition for Twelve Instruments (1948), for example (performed on Gunther Schuller's series), may be compared to a mosaic composed of geometrically shaped tiles, from any one of which can be traced a different but equally significant pattern running through an entire dimension of the work, whether one follows the path of all tiles of similar shape, or color, or size, those on the same horizontal or vertical plane, or within any area of a given size. Of course, the true effect of the work results from the perception of all these configurations simultaneously.

The intelligibility of so many interrelations is achieved, in this and other early Babbitt works, at the sacrifice of a certain scope and variety in line, texture and articulation; all the elements tend to be of the same type (single-impulse attacks in the Composition for Twelve Instruments), and the emission of sounds from the total range at about the same frequency throughout the work makes the continuity seem somewhat "frozen," as though its motion were more an alternation than a progression.

Later works, however, develop a far greater subtlety of textures and range of materials that result primarily from a penetrating re-examination of traditional presentational qualities in the same spirit that structural resources were previously restudied. As a result, manners of presentation function as integral elements, particularly in vocal works (such as the song cycle *"Du"* and the Composition for Tenor and Six Instruments) where the characteristically legato voice line floats amid the surrounding instrumental parts as though it were both pursuing an independent course and functioning as a contributory element in the ensemble. And in *All Set* for jazz ensemble, characteristic jazz sounds (curtain drumming, plucked-

NEW TITLES
NEW EDITIONS

AFANASYEV, V.—Marxist Philosophy. 480 pp. $1.75
APTHEKER, H.—Documentary History of the Negro People, 2 vols., paper. The set 942 pp. 4.50
BEZYMENSKY, L.—German Generals Under Hitler & After Him. 416 pp. 2.00
DEBORIN, G.—The Second World War. ——— 448 pp. 2.00
DU BOIS, W. E. B.—Black Reconstruction, ——— Paper 746 pp. 3.45
ENGELS, F.—Correspondence, Paul & Laura LaFargue, Vol. 3. ——— 635 pp. 2.00
FROLOV, Y.—Work & The Brain. 230 pp. 1.50
GERASSI, J.—The Great Fear—A most timely book for understanding Latin-American Developments. 407 pp. 6.95
KHRUSHCHEV, N. S.—Communism—Peace & Happiness for the Peoples. 2 vols. 1200 pp. 3.00
KUUSINEN, ET AL—Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (2nd revised ed.) 1963 ——— 734 pp. 2.75
LENIN, V. I.—Report on Peace, Home & Foreign Policy of the Republic. 208 pp. 1.00
Vol. 1-19. Collected Works. Ea. at 1.50
MARX, K.—Theories of Surplus Value, Part 1 of Vol. 4. ——— 491 pp. 2.00
(Vols. 1, 2 & 3 of Capital) The set 7.50
MERKULOV, A.—Automation Serves Man. ——— Paper. 159 pp. .75
NESTURKH, M.—The Races of Mankind. ——— 248 pp. 1.50
NIKITIN, P.—Fundamentals of Political Economy. ——— 404 pp. 1.50
PONOMARYOV, ET AL—History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (2nd rev. ed.) 1963. 762 pp. 2.00
SOVIET CIVIL LEGISLATION & PROCEDURE — Official Texts & Commentaries, 1963. ——— 175 pp. 1.00
TRUSOV, A.—Introduction to the Theory of Evidence. ——— 282 pp. 1.25

Send Orders to:

NEW ERA BOOKS
(Formerly World Books)
80 East 11 St., N.Y.C. 3 Room 212

Please add 25c total charge for postage. N. Y. City residents add 4% sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bass beat, etc.) and articulations are deployed to project a twelve-tone structure, where the constant punning between jazz and twelve-tone implications is a significant aspect of the formal design.

But the most striking demonstration of the cumulative force of Babbitt's progressive evolution of compositional resources is the new *Philomel* for soprano, recorded soprano and synthesized accompaniment (first sung by Bethany Beardslee on the Ford Foundation's series), which seems to break out onto a whole new level of possible coherence. Here, the marvelous dramatic sequence of John Hollander's text (based on the Philomel-Procne legend), from the mute and terrified woman rushing through the woods, through the stages of transformation into an eloquent songbird, is carried out by means of parallel transformations on a seemingly limitless number of musical dimensions. The strangled cries of the voice at the opening gradually merge into a sustained vocal line that seems to trace a wider arc at each of its appearances; successions of pitches in the tape accompaniment gradually accelerate into beating and chattering wood noises; and the single voice of the soprano is first counterpointed against its recorded sound (a remarkable stroke is that both the first and last "natural" vocal sound in the work emerge from the loud-speaker), which then is subdivided into choruses of Beardslees, transmuted into bass, alto and piccolo Beardslees, and finally merged again into the single sound that sustains the "live" soprano's final note with a breath capacity uniquely available to synthesizers. All of Babbitt's music is full of arresting things to listen to, but I suspect that there will still be new things to hear in *Philomel* as long as tape machines and singers like Bethany Beardslee are produced.

I do not mean to imply, however, that Babbitt's approach is the only one possible; I have dwelt on his work mainly because it represents the most completely committed acceptance of the conditions of the contemporary situation, without nostalgic backward glances in the fugitive hope that some of the old transcendentalism could still be recaptured. But the possibility of diversity is inherent in the very nature of the situation, and some of the most impressive and original contributions have been made by composers whose work retains strong associative bridges to the immediate past. Elliott Carter, especially (as I have extensively noted previously), has transformed the theatrical gestures of prewar American music into the essential elements of a polyphony in which they are able to function as superimposed but independent "levels." And even some of those who go much further toward a reliance on pure gesture, such as Stefan Wolpe and Ralph Shapey, still retain coherent referential contexts that separate them from the pure theatrics of Darmstadt.

Charles Wuorinen's Piano Variations, on the other hand, attempts to combine pure gesture and controlled pitch succession to a personal phraseology. Like all his work, it is full of striking compositional ideas, but is more self-disciplined and mature; in fact, the work sustains the effective growth of a "theme" composed of a succession of widely spaced events over most of its length, until the textual density explodes into pure gestural energy.

The same context has produced such a different work as Gunther Schuller's Double Wind Quintet, whose beautiful sonorities and astonishingly fluent instrumental writing can only be described as "musical" in the older sense, despite the unmistakably *"avant-garde"* framework out of which they arise. And in Arthur Berger's Chamber Music for Thirteen Players, ideas that derive from characteristically Webernian, Schoenbergian and Stravinskian sources are crystallized and transformed by an acute and sensitive compositional ear into a delicate fabric where the distinctions between lines and fragments, polyphonies and sustained sounds, rhythmic energy and ornamental figuration, are kept in a subtle and elusive flux that reflects the minutest gradations of change. And George Perle's Three Movements for Orchestra (heard, unfortunately, in Amsterdam rather than New York) generates a sound image which seems almost literally traditional on its surface, but whose "motives," "chords" and "phrases" take constantly unexpected turns that ultimately impose their own subtle logic on the listener's consciousness. But the list is almost inexhaustible, and any attempt at comprehensiveness would negate the very aspect of our musical lives that has been most exhilarating and unique.

BENJAMIN BORETZ

The Thief

I think of us lying asleep,
eyes and hands filled with the dark,
when the arm of the night
entered, reaching into the pockets
of our empty clothes. We slept
in the element of that power,
innocent of it, preserved from it
not even by our wish.
As though not born, we were carried
beyond an imminence we did not
waken to, as passively as stars
are carried beyond their spent
shining — our eyes granted to the light
again, by what chance or price
we do not even know.

Wendell Berry

CAMPS

FOR EIGHT TO TWELVE YEAR OLDS: Family centered, country living. Arts, Crafts, drama, care of animals to promote self-expression. Some underprivileged and disturbed children can be assimilated into group. College-age counselors. Any of five weeks starting July 12. Non-profit. **Write: Dr. & Mrs. Robert C. Murphy, Jr., RD 1, Uniondale, Pa. Tel.: 717 679-3308.**

HIGLEY HILL CAMP
in the Green Mountains
Relaxed, unregimented and informal — a unique camp for fifty boys and girls 6 to 14 in Southern Vermont. **Rates: eight weeks — $475, four weeks — $250. Call** or write **Bill and Paula Gerson, directors, 604 West 115th Street, New York, New York 10025. UN 5-3759.**
INTERRACIAL • NON-SECTARIAN

CAMPING IN THE MIDWEST. Recreational and intellectual nourishment for the free spirit. Cooperative traditions with Folk Art programs, work projects, crafts, biking, Red Cross swim instruction. Unique family and unit camping facilities. 284 acres on Lake Stewart, Michigan. Write to: **CIRCLE PINES CENTER, DELTON, MICHIGAN 49046.**

REAL ESTATE

LAND! LAND! LAND! Tanglewood country. Fields, woods, brooks, ponds, lakes, trails, views, birds, wildflowers. One to 500 acres. Your terms. **Owner, Box 1673, Lenox, Mass.**

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION 5-4-61
333 Sixth Ave., New York 10014

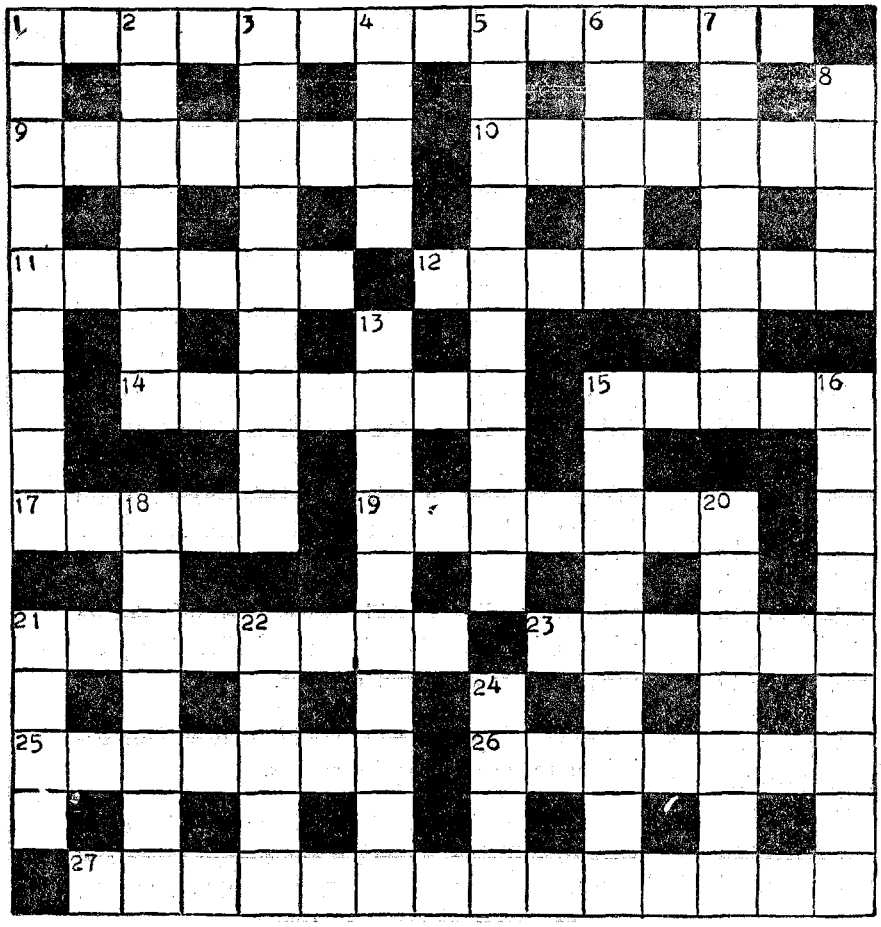
☐ One Year, $10
☐ Two Years, $18
☐ 6 Months, $5
☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed
(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY .....
STATE ..... ZIP NO. .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1057

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Are they good for nothing cleansers? (6, 8)
9 Point on which a fairy is placed in stone? (7)
10 Potential wreckers perhaps get on with a philosopher. (7)
11 Comment made by a German writer, by the sound of it. (6)
12 See 18 down
14 It should create a demand for hot stuff for a thousand years! (7)
15 You'll have to move a step — there's a sticker here! (5)
17 Death was this color as a smoke, to Byron. (5)
19 What is there in wealth or money that keeps us feeling right? (7)
21 China, perhaps, where one makes a suit over. (8)
23 The first person to go into the entrance of the cell? (6)
25 Inclined to be merciful. (7)
26 Frighten, as many French proper names do. (7)

DOWN:

1 Gets all steamed up. (9)
2 Those who work with such things sometimes go to pot. (7)
3 It's certainly not on top of yours, sap! (9)
5 Not exactly the embellishment of those who spin yarns. (10)
6 She's not quite all that might be expected. (5)
7 Concerning certain aspects of lives. (7)
8 This joint could look rather sharp!
13 Is it cut out to be made up as a hotel suite? (10)
15 Support an attendance spread? (9)
16 One wouldn't expect a shower before it, since the run-off will account for it. (9)
18, 12 across and 27 across Confidentially, we are kept apart with the doorman's position. (7, 3, 3, 2, 3, 3, 8)
20 and 4 down One way to finish a sentence makes a newspaper plate rather clever. (11)
21 Instead of crime? (4)
22 It happens Tarkington's novel doesn't get seen. (5)
24 Ship between nothing and a big pile here. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1056

ACROSS: 1 Cumberland Gap; 10 Lodge; 12 Check list; 14 Devil-may-care; 19 Frankincense; 22 Smart; 24 Misbehave; 25 Lion tamer; 26 Atone; 27 Disencumber. DOWN: 2 Undset; 3 Breakneck; 4 Rendition; 5 Ambit; 6 Denim; 7 Abnormal; 8 and 13 Black Maria; 9 Ashamed; 15 Maelstrom; 16 and 11 Yes We Have No Bananas; 17 Effaced; 18 Macaroni; 20 Parole; 21 Never; 23 Niche; 24 Music.

EDUCATIONAL

YOUNG ADULTS! WORK AND STUDY! SPECIAL SUMMER COURSE at the Hechalutz Farm, Hightstown, New Jersey, during the summer of 1964. YOUNG MEN and WOMEN 17-25. **WORK** at agricultural training center for Israel's kibbutzim. **STUDY** conversational Hebrew. **LEARN** Israeli dances and folk songs. **LISTEN** to lectures on Modern Israel. A stimulating and rewarding experience. Apply now. For further information: **Hechalutz Program, 112 Fourth Avenue, New York 3. Tel.: GR 3-2420.**

SUMMERLANE SCHOOL & CAMP "An American Summerhill" — **Box 26N, Mileses, New York.**

PUBLICATIONS

WHERE IS THAT BOOK?

Don't fret — We can get any out-of-print books you need, and fast. Our Book-Lures hunt out all your wanted book lore. Free world-wide search. Send your lists to—

BOOK-LURES

P.O. Box 442-L, Caldwell, New Jersey

L'EXPRESS

the leading liberal paper in France today. Send 25c for your sample copy. **HOWARD PUBLICATIONS, 132 W. 43 ST., 7th floor, NEW YORK 36. Tel.: BR 9-1021.**

NEW MAGAZINE now accepting contributions. Seeks essays, articles, short stories, photographs, drawings, etc., dealing with civil liberties and race relations. Write: **Publication Dept. (DF), 2090 7th Avenue, Room 101, N.Y.C. 27.**

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. **THE COVERED WAGON, ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)**

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons — NYC, resorts, long distance. **The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC), 569 Hudson Street, New York 14.**

PERSONALS

STRANGELOVE's irreverence plus mass appeal techniques to unmask pseudo-ethic, managed news, "sacred cows". Contemplated non-profit, independent, satirical publication welcomes co-venturers in various capacities. **Box 558, c/o The Nation.**

Don't just think it—say it! **GOLDWATER '64 — HOTWATER '65** or **HELP GOLDWATER STAMP OUT PEACE** Bumper stickers, 50c each, $4 for 10 from **Lexon, Box 183D, Colvin Sta., Syracuse 5, N.Y.**

ARE THERE REASONS why humanists should join the **American Humanist Association?** We need members who are reluctant to join organizations. Introductory literature. **Dept. N4, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio.**

ASSISTANT TO VETERINARIAN—Cornell Veterinary College — needs summer employment. **Box 556, c/o The Nation.**

Advertising Rates

Classified: 74c a line (6 words) 3 line min.
Classified Display: $7.42 per inch (min.)

The NATION

333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Censored

The American press is no longer the voice of the people. The scoop, the exposé and the fiery editorial have virtually disappeared. In 96% of American cities, the daily newspapers are controlled by a single ownership. We have fewer newspapers today than we had in 1900, despite a tripling of the population since then. Our wire services have dwindled from twelve to a mere two. Many of today's magazines, the bloodless progeny of such journalistic titans as Garrison's *Liberator* and Mencken's *American Mercury*, shrink from controversy and print only those articles which they know will please advertisers and preserve revenues.

The opportunity for the dissenting voice to be heard, for the unpopular cause to be championed, has vanished from free America. We live in the age of managed news, of journalistic indolence, of press-agentry, of government censorship. Never in history has such widespread complacency and corruption of the press prevented the public from reading the facts it must have in order to function as a government by the people. Today's magazines and newspapers make a mockery of the Jeffersonian concept of American democracy as safeguarded by a watchdog press.

As a partial antidote to this serious threat to the democratic process, we are proud to announce publication of FACT, a bimonthly of uncompromising truth.

FACT is predicated upon a fierce belief in democracy and an incessant yearning for simple honesty. It will be America's permanent roving Diogenes, peering into the halls of legislature, the ateliers of art, the archives of history and the laboratories of science, sifting from pitchman's ballyhoo and politician's cant the *fact*. FACT will be a fearless magazine, beholden neither to advertiser nor to vested interest. It will not hesitate to ask, "Where are the emperor's clothes?"

FACT will print articles like: "Suppressed Government Report on Relative Safety of American Car Makes and Models," "Should the Government Break Up AT&T?", "The Sexual Aggressions That Underlie War," "A Day in the Bitter-Sweet Life of an Inter-Racial Couple," "The Declining Prestige of the Minister," "The Negro Revolution Must Lead to Violence," "Should a Jew Buy a German-Made Car?", "The Decline of the *New Yorker* Magazine," "Radio Free Europe: A Threat to U.S. Security," and "*Time:* The Weekly Fiction Magazine." In the latter feature, at FACT's invitation, the following celebrities give first-hand knowledge of errors and distortions by *Time:* Irwin Shaw, Sloan Wilson, Tallulah Bankhead, Mary McCarthy, P. G. Wodehouse, Eugene Burdick, Conrad Aiken, John Osborne, Vincent Price, Burgess Meredith, Ralph Ingersoll, H. Allen Smith, Dwight Macdonald and Taylor Caldwell. Contributors to other FACT features include Bertrand Russell, Linus Pauling and Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, to name a few.

In short, FACT will present the information which other magazines, because of advertiser pressure, must belie, distort or omit.

FACT will carry *no* advertising. It will be beholden to no one but its readers.

The price of FACT is $7.50 per year. To enter your subscription, please fill out coupon below and mail it with $7.50 to FACT, Dept. NA-3, 110 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018.

Do it now and you will receive a crusading new magazine which is dedicated to presenting the naked truth and letting all censors be damned, a magazine which Bertrand Russell describes as "well prepared, irreverent and serious," which California's Governor Pat Brown says "pulls no punches," which the N.Y. *Post* describes as "lively, unconventional, handsome," and which the San Francisco *Chronicle* says "may become Mencken's *American Mercury* of our day."

FACT, Dept. NA-3
110 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018

I enclose $7.50 for a one-year Charter Subscription to FACT.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ **STATE**_____ **ZIP**_____

(C) 1964 FACT

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED